

ONE YEAR
OF THE
BONN GRAND
COALITION

THE RESULT OF AN

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One Year of the Bonn Grand Coalition

The Result of an Unsuccessful Policy

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Preface

One year ago a new government was formed in Bonn. For the first time since the founding of the West German separatist state the government includes nine social democratic ministers. This fact and the big promises of a "new" policy with which this grand coalition began its activity were the cause of the fact that in West Germany and also abroad this new government gave rise to great expectations.

From the very beginning the GDR did not indulge in such dangerous self-deception. On the very eve of the formation of the government in Bonn Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, warned of the intensified right-wing course to be expected from such a coalition in an interview with the newspaper *Neues Deutschland*. Four months later the National Council proved in the *Grey Book* how the policy of expansion and neofascism were further intensified precisely under the grand coalition.

Now the Kiesinger-Strauss-Wehner-Brandt government has been in office for one year. What is the result of this one year? Is its policy really "new"? Has the situation of the working people improved? What has become of the home and foreign policy promises? Where is the Federal Republic heading today? Was the GDR's assessment correct?

We want to reply to these questions with the present documentation.

Berlin, 1 December 1967

National Council of the National Front
of Democratic Germany

Chances for a New Policy at the End of 1966

The Situation in the Autumn of 1966

In the middle of an electoral period, 13 months after the elections for the fifth West German Bundestag, the government under Federal Chancellor Ludwig Erhard foundered in November 1966. It was followed by the government of the grand coalition.

The occurrences in the autumn of 1966 were not noteworthy because of the change of persons, they were the expression of a deep-going political crisis in West Germany which shook the main party of monopoly capital especially strongly. What were the reasons for the situation at that time?

West German monopoly capital had begun immediately after 1945 in alliance with American imperialism to prevent in every way possible the democratic development on German soil demanded by the majority of the German people. Its declared aim was the liquidation of the anti-fascist, democratic order in the then Soviet occupation zone and the German Democratic Republic respectively, the bastion of peace, democracy and social progress. Konrad Adenauer was the embodiment of this "roll back" policy and the cold war. This unrealistic policy failed on 13 August 1961—visible to the entire world—when the GDR also reliably safeguarded its state frontier in Berlin in agreement with the other states of the Warsaw Treaty.

Adenauer had to resign as federal chancellor in 1963. But the Erhard cabinet which followed him did not learn anything from the fiasco of Adenauer and stuck to the outlived "policy of strength". This caused an ever more rapid sharpening of the external and internal contradictions. Whereas the GDR developed ever more successfully, the West German Federal Republic with its policy of sole representation and revanchism got into an ever more noticeable isolation in its foreign policy.

But also the so-called European integration policy of West German big capital did not bring the desired success; with this policy it wanted to win a determining influence on the home as well as foreign policy of the West European states and ensure that they followed the Bonn revanchist policy. The revanchist demands for the restoration of an imperialist Germany "at first within the frontiers of 1937" met with ever less support even from Bonn's closest allies.

The continuation of the aggressive foreign policy accelerated the sharpening of the internal contradictions. The perceptible recession of the boom was accompanied by critical structural phenomena and led to a serious crisis in state

finances. The inflationary trend quickly increased. The tremendous and steadily growing costs of the policy of armament and revanchism coincided with greatly diminishing tax revenues and thus caused a considerable deficit in the state budget.

Social insecurity spread among broad sections of the West German population for the first time. Long years of full employment and a lack of manpower suddenly changed into unemployment of hundreds of thousands within a few months. Together with the creation of an industrial reserve army monopoly capital intensified the pressure on the political and social achievements of the working class with the help of the government, directing the main attack on the West German trade unions. The CDU/CSU (Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union) as the leading party of West German monopoly capital was no longer in a position to master the political crisis on its own, the less so as West German monopoly capital was determined to push on the transition from a period of restoration of its political and economic potentials to a policy of expansion in every way possible.

In the hope of being able to overcome the contradiction between its aggressive aims and the real possibilities which were becoming ever more obvious, the monopoly bourgeoisie therefore deliberately forced the political crisis. The West German population was thereby to be prepared for a change of government and a program of that government which would put into the shade everything which had previously existed in aggressiveness, anti-democratic and social reactionary measures.

After artificially heating up the crisis this program was intended to appear as the necessary radical cure to overcome it. The new cabinet was to play the role of the helper in need before the West German population and the international public, the helper who jumps into the breach with a "new" policy.

It was to be decisive for the success of this plan that the new government developed not only a different "political style" and "more flexible methods" than its predecessor but that it also and especially offered the best possibilities from its composition for carrying out a program which is profoundly hostile to the people. The ruling circles hoped that the SPD adherents would not resist it, because of the apparent participation of social democratic ministers in power. The workers and trade unions were thus especially to be put in chains.

The Chances for a Change of Policy

The political crisis in the autumn of 1966, still promoted by growing quarrels within the CDU/CSU, would have offered the Social Democratic Party the opportunity to direct the policy of the Federal Republic onto a course of peace and relaxation, normalization of relations between the two German states and a democratic, socially-oriented internal policy. The FDP (Free Democratic Party) declared itself ready on principle in coalition negotiations to join a federal government led by social democrats.

The turn to a really new policy in the West German Federal Republic would have been in the interest of all European peoples and especially in the interest of the West German population itself.

In that time Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, on behalf of the Political Bureau of the SED, addressed Willy Brandt, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in West Germany. Guided by the responsibility for the destiny of the German nation, the SED in this letter appealed to the Social Democratic Party:

"We do not want to conceal that the gains of the neo-nazis whose way is paved by the CDU/CSU as pace-maker alarms us. In view of the experiences which you, Comrade Brandt, just as we have made with German fascism we believe we can assume that the struggle against a neo-nazi development in West Germany is in the joint interest of our two parties."¹

In the letter the readiness of the SED to reach agreement with a government led by the SPD as well as with all those forces in West Germany who are determined to oppose a neo-nazi and socially reactionary development was stressed.

But the Social Democratic Party leaders rejected the existing chances for a change in West German policy and deliberately renounced the formation of a government led by social democrats.

The Formation of the Kiesinger-Strauss Government—the Treachery of the Right-wing Social Democratic Leaders

On 1 December 1966 Kurt Georg Kiesinger officially followed Ludwig Erhard, who was

forced to resign as federal chancellor. The Social Democratic Party leaders joined the CDU/CSU cabinet with nine ministers.

At the Seventh Congress of the SED in April 1967 Walter Ulbricht analyzed the causes of this step as follows:

"The cause is the false assessment of the relation of forces in the world and in Europe and the lack of confidence in the working class and the democratic forces in West Germany. The SPD ministers have for the most part joined the CDU in the nationalist policy of expansion. They both want to solve the insurmountable contradictions of West German capitalism by means of the revanchist policy and the policy of expansion."

Joining the Kiesinger/Strauss government was in sharp opposition to the will of the 13 million social democratic voters who in the autumn of 1965 voted for the SPD and thus against the bankrupt CDU/CSU policy. The social democratic leaders tried to disguise this treachery to the interest of the working people with the reference to "historical experiences". Thus they stated in a "stock-taking" that the party never failed the Reich in the hour of need. But neither the support for the feudal-imperialist Germany in the First World War nor the "policy of the lesser evil" made by the right-wing Social Democratic Party leaders which paved the way for fascism were a "service to the nation" but in fact served German imperialism without being able to prevent its defeats.

A Conspiracy against the People

The GDR watched the occurrences around the formation of the Kiesinger-Strauss government with attention. After a thorough analysis of the Bonn government declaration of 13 December 1966 the Central Committee of the SED at its 14th session assessed the establishment of the Kiesinger-Strauss government and the aims pursued by it as an expression of an intensified development to the right. Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, stated at this plenum of the Central Committee:

"The pact of the social democratic ministers with Strauss and Kiesinger therefore represents itself in foreign policy as the continuation and extension of the revanchist policy directed against peace and European security and in domestic policy as support for an attempt to stabilize state monopoly capitalism; the demo-

¹ The translation of quotations in this documentation are unauthorized.

cratic rights are also to be radically limited along with the development of the formed rule."

And Walter Ulbricht drew the following conclusion:

"The entire program of the new Bonn government—despite a few social democratic ministers—thus is essentially the revanchist and socially reactionary program of the CDU/CSU leadership, in home and foreign policy, that means the program of an outspoken right-wing course."

Thus the GDR from the beginning warned about having illusions about this new federal government and its program. The GDR explicitly referred to the fact that every Bonn government which is not ready to learn the lessons of history consistently and make allowance for the realities which have come into existence on German soil, in Europe and throughout the world is doomed to failure.

Developments have confirmed our assessment.

Sole Representation Pretension – Heart of the Bonn Policy of Expansion

WORDS:

"We want to ease tension, not increase it, to overcome rifts and not deepen them. For this reason we want to promote with all our strength the human, economic and intellectual relations with our fellow countrymen in the other part of Germany. We want to do away with the German division by peaceful understanding and return to a state where our people is at peace with itself and the world." (From Kiesinger's government declaration of 13 December 1966)

DEEDS:

The offer of the GDR of 10 May 1967 to negotiate at the government level concerning a minimum program for peaceful coexistence between the two German states was rejected by Federal Chancellor Kiesinger on 13 June 1967.

The offer of the GDR of 18 September 1967 to conclude an agreement on the mutual renunciation of force between the two German states in the interest of peaceful development in Europe was rejected by Federal Chancellor Kiesinger on 29 September 1967.

Instead, the Kiesinger government intensified the sole representation pretension in all fields.

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger declared: "We must restrict the source of infection (the GDR-ed.) and finally remove it." (In West Berlin at the 1967 Germany Day of the Young Union on 18 November 1967)

Foreign Minister Brandt declared: "We must proceed from the present-day facts if we want to change the facts." The facts which are to be changed include "that there exists in East Berlin a government with a council of ministers and a chairman, and a council of state with its chairman". (In Bad Godesberg at the SPD federal conference on 13 November 1967)

The federal government, in secret notes and memoranda, demanded from the member states of NATO and EEC the increased economic boycott of the GDR.

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger and Foreign Minister Brandt declared in their talks with the British government in February and April 1967, that the federal government's consent to Britain's entry into EEC would, among other things, depend on Great Britain's attitude to trade with the GDR.

The federal government, to an increasing extent, makes its relation with other countries dependent on the non-recognition of the GDR. For example, Kiesinger declared in New Delhi on 21 November 1967: "Recognition of the GDR will result in the termination of the friendly relations between Bonn and New Delhi."

The Bundesrat (Federal Council) aggravated the policy of annexation of the independent political unit of West Berlin by appointing the West Berlin mayor as Bundesrat president.

Sharpening of the Sole Representation Pretension

The Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Walter Ulbricht, in his New Year's address and at the Seventh Congress of the SED, submitted to the federal government a minimum program for peaceful coexistence between the two German states. After no response had been heard from Bonn following these proposals, the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, submitted on 10 May 1967 to Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, a letter with the proposal for negotiations between the two German governments on basic questions of relaxation of tension and the normalization of relations between the two German states. In the interest of relations of peaceful coexistence, six points were proposed for the conclusion of an agreement between the two German states concerning:

- the establishment of normal relations between both German states,
- a renunciation of the use of force,
- similarly worded declarations on the recognition of the currently existing borders in Europe,
- the reduction of arms expenditures in both German states by half,
- similar and simultaneous declarations on the renunciation of the possession, disposal over or participation in the disposal over atomic arms in every form and the readiness for participation in a denuclearized zone in Europe, and finally the
- obligation to support the establishment of normal relations between both German states and all European states and the establishment of diplomatic relations by all European states with the two German states.

After weeks of negotiations and discussions between the West German government parties, Kiesinger, in a letter of reply on 13 June, rejected negotiations on all proposed points. Instead of a normalization of relations. Kiesinger—by aggravating the Bonn expansionist policy—attempted to attain the opening of the GDR borders for Bonn's planned policy of infiltration and sedition.

On 18 September 1967, the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, again addressed a letter to Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, enclosing the draft for a treaty on the establishment and fostering of normal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Kiesinger's reaction to this letter and the submitted draft treaty was also negative.

This reaction once more illustrates that the Kiesinger-Strauss government is not interested in a normalization and relaxation of the relations between the two German states but that it seeks to intensify the expansionist policy by trying to infiltrate and isolate the GDR in order to make it ready for annexation.

This tactics was openly admitted by a South German newspaper which wrote concerning the changed tactical proceedings in the policy against the GDR which, since the CDU party congress in May 1967, has been officially designated as the program-in-stages of the Kiesinger government:

"...that the Kiesinger government was employing different methods but had the same aims as all previous governments of the Federal Republic. The difference between these methods and those of the Adenauer and Erhard governments was that they approached the aim

of liberating East Germany directly, while our policy of relaxation amounts to attaining this aim gradually and by detours'." (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 11 April 1967)

As made plain in his replies, Kiesinger's obvious intention to open the gate to the GDR for intensified subversion so as to create here the appropriate prerequisites for the planned "integration" of the GDR, is also clearly shown by the fact that Kiesinger, in contrast to the Adenauer and Erhard governments, no longer speaks of the *right* to sole representation, but rather of the *obligation* to sole representation, a term which clearly reflects the aggravation of the sole representation pretension.

This aggravation of the sole representation pretension by increased interference was also frequently confirmed by important politicians of the Kiesinger-Strauss government:

"In Germany we are... committed to interference. We must link the isolation (of the GDR—editor) with the greatest measure of influence which is available to us." (The Chairman of the foreign-political work circle of the CDU/CSU Bundestag parliamentary fraction, Majonica, in *Politisch-Soziale Korrespondenz* on 15 February 1967)

"Recognition of the GDR is impossible because then all we might still attempt in order to influence would be considered interference in internal affairs which is no longer permissible between two states. Then our reunification policy would become a policy of interference and the border a legal institution." (Former federal minister Gradl, on West German television, 3 April 1967)

"Once the Zone has been recognized, interference by the Federal Republic into the internal affairs of the Zone is no longer possible. In that case the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state would be opposed to such a policy." (CSU Bundestag deputy and chairman of the "Bundestag Defence Committee", Dr. Friedrich Zimmermann on Bavarian Radio, 17 May 1967)

No Renunciation of Force Towards the GDR

Kiesinger in his government declaration had underlined that he "wanted to do away with the division of Germany by *peaceful* understanding and to return to a state where our people is at peace with itself and the world". If words are to have any meaning, Kiesinger's conception of peaceful understanding between the two German states could be brought about, first by

negotiations on the basis of equality between them and second, by an internationally legal agreement on renunciation of the use of force between the two German states.

Therefore, the draft treaty submitted by the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, on the establishment and fostering of normal relations between the two German states was not only a crucial test for the will for understanding on the part of the Kiesinger-Strauss government but also for their peaceful or non-peaceful intentions.

Article 2 of the draft treaty submitted to the federal government reads:

"The governments of the two German states conclude an agreement on the renunciation of force."

In his reply of 29 September 1967, Kiesinger did not say a single word concerning the renunciation of the use of force to be agreed on. Instead, he once more insisted on the Bonn sole representation pretension and again rejected negotiations with the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

The announcement published by the Press Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR concerning this reply says:

"The revolting thing about Herr Kiesinger's letter is that he simply shoves aside all proposals by the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers which are designed to serve humanity by safeguarding peace. But the most humane demand upon the two German states is the contractually agreed renunciation of force and the renunciation of atomic arms."

Whereas, in his reply Kiesinger expressed his rejection of the renunciation of the use of force by not referring to the relevant proposals of the Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, he expressed himself clearly and unambiguously on this question in an interview on West German television (second program) on 29 June 1967:

In reply to the question,

"Are you also ready to negotiate with East Berlin on the renunciation of the use of force?"

Kiesinger declared,

"We have stated that we exchange declarations on the renunciation of force with states which we *recognize* and that we make this renunciation of force also on behalf of the other part of Germany."

Question:

"You would therefore not deal with Ulbricht's offer?"

Kiesinger:

"No."

In this strict refusal to negotiate on the renunciation of force with the GDR, there is today no difference between the CDU and SPD ministers. Whereas before the formation of the government, the social democrats in their "guiding principles" for their negotiating delegation had requested that the new government, formed with the social democrats, should include in their government program the exchange of legally binding declarations of the renunciation of force which were also to apply to the "other part of Germany", the social democratic negotiating delegation headed by Wehner relinquished this standpoint. Wehner declared to the bodies of the SPD:

"We ourselves have modified this inasmuch as we do not want to risk the misunderstanding that we were contemplating an exchange of declarations on the renunciation of force with the Pankow government." (*Bestandsaufnahme 1966* (stocktaking 1966), documentation of the SPD executive, Bonn 1966, page 71)

Intensified Inclusion of West Berlin in the Policy of Expansion

Immediately after taking office, the Kiesinger government used the position of Brandt as chairman of the SPD and governing mayor of West Berlin for many years to intensify the presumption of competence regarding West Berlin. This became particularly obvious from the increased provocative appearances of Bonn politicians and the intensified holding of illegal meetings of the committees and parliamentary groups of the West German Bundestag as well as in the presumptuous staging of so-called "Consultations of Ministers" in the independent political unit of West Berlin which does not belong to the Federal Republic.

Thus, Professor Albert Norden informed the international public when submitting the *Grey Book* on 29 March 1967 about a secret study of the West Berlin Senate in which it had been agreed with the Kiesinger government how West Berlin is to be further expanded as a centre of provocation and trouble-making against the GDR and to be integrated as the 11th federal province. (see *Graubuch*, 2nd revised and enlarged German edition, Staatsverlag der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Berlin, 1967, pp. 69 ff.)

The social democrat Heinrich Albertz, who was first installed as successor to Willy Brandt as governing mayor, was dismissed on the initiative of the Bonn government and the Chairman

of the Federal Association of West German Industry as well as under the influence of the USA, because he had considered taking independent steps in relation to the socialist states in order to meet West Berlin's economic difficulties. The indignation of the public about the sanguinary actions of the West Berlin police against students which had been backed up by him was utilized to overthrow Albertz.

Albertz was therefore replaced by the former state secretary of Willy Brandt in the Foreign Office, Klaus Schütz, in order to safeguard Bonn's intensified effort to annex West Berlin, so that transmissions of the federal government and the West Berlin Senate "are made on the same wave length".

In accordance with these instructions Schütz started his official assumption of office as "Federal Commissioner" in West Berlin already on the fourth day with a provocative letter to the Mayor of the capital of the GDR, Herbert Fechner, and the Deputy Prime Minister of the GDR, Alexander Abusch, which proved him to be very compliant towards the wishes of Bonn but also as not very adroit.

His efforts to lower the level adhered to during the previous negotiations on entry permits, namely, negotiations between a commissioner of the government of the GDR and a commissioner of the Senate of West Berlin, from this government level to communal fields were just as naive as the effort to return the capital of the GDR to the occupation status of West Berlin by means of "inner city negotiations". Therefore this manoeuvre ended in a complete fiasco.

In spite of this miscarriage Brandt's protégé explained in his "Government Declaration" on 26 October before the House of Deputies the general lines of his future policy which again make clear that the effort is to be made to integrate West Berlin into the Bonn state and subordinate it without reservation to the Bonn policy of revenge.

Schütz demanded:

a) "The membership of (West) Berlin in the Federal Republic of Germany must be upheld", that means the continuation and extension of the effort of illegally integrating West Berlin into the Bonn state.

b) The West Berlin economy is to be brought into still greater dependence on the Bonn state.

Schütz declared in this respect:

"The basis of our economic future was, is and remains the integration of West Berlin in the economic structure of free Germany and the common European market. This involvement cannot be replaced by anything."

With this demand, Schütz ignores the fact that West Berlin got itself into its present economic crisis in spite of or precisely because of its close involvement with West Germany.

The industrial production of West Berlin, for instance, decreased from January to July 1967 by 4.9 per cent in comparison with the same period of the previous year. The same is true of the placing of orders. It even decreased by 8.5 per cent in the first half-year and in the manufacture of means of production the reduction was even more than 10 per cent in comparison with the same period of the previous year.

West Berlin is to be made still more serviceable than before to the enforcement of the aggressive Bonn eastern policy.

A renewed sharpening of the situation arose on account of the provocative appointment of West Berlin Mayor Klaus Schütz as president of the West German Bundesrat.

The Declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic of 26 October 1967 stated in this respect:

"This measure shows the deep disregard of the generally recognized international law on the part of the West German government. This illegal action can of course not change anything with regard to the existing legal situation. It is only suited to make a normalization of the relations between the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin more difficult and obviously also intended for this purpose. Thus this provocation is turned directly against all democratic forces in West Berlin and also in West Germany who are increasingly working to lessen tension and for understanding and against the Bonn policy of revenge."

In view of the situation which has arisen in West Berlin the government of the GDR has pointed out the essential question in the announcement of the Press Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, namely, the necessity of normalizing relations between the GDR and West Berlin. The declaration states in this respect:

"West Berlin citizens are increasingly realizing that in the interest of normal relations with the GDR the Senate of West Berlin must finally go over to a policy of reason. That means to respect the real situation, to recognize the existing borders and the existence of two sovereign states with equal status and to reject the sole representation pretension of the Bonn government and its striving for nuclear weapons which is endangering peace."

The Foreign Office in the Service of the Sole Representation Pretension

The implementation of the sole representation pretension with regard to third states has been the main request of Bonn foreign policy since the existence of the Federal Republic. In line with the Hallstein doctrine named after the first state secretary of the Bonn foreign office, the Federal Republic, contrary to international law, interfered in the internal affairs of other states by threatening to break off economic and political relations in the case of their establishing normal relations with the GDR.

In the new stage of the expansion policy for which the West German imperialists created the grand coalition government, an intensification of this Hallstein doctrine was also decided upon. The social democratic Foreign Minister Willy Brandt who was selected for this task, declared at a press conference on the occasion of a two-day conference of the leading personalities of the social democratic parties of Europe, according to a report from the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 4 January 1967:

„Should the nations allied with Bonn and the countries of the third world recognize the government of East Berlin, the Hallstein doctrine with all its negative effects will be applied.”

This threat was repeated by Federal Chancellor Kiesinger in his address at the “Germany Day of the Young Union” in West Berlin on 18 November 1967, where he declared:

“The federal government will also in future consider it an unfriendly act should allied or neutral states recognize the illegitimate regime in East Berlin.” (AP information of 18 November 1967)

The foreign office acted according to this directive:

- Bonn’s ambassador in Guinea protested against the establishment of a Guinea representation in the GDR. He departed in a demonstrative way to report in Bonn.
- The West German ambassador in Zambia protested against the planned sending of a parliamentary delegation from this country to the GDR and against the establishment of a trade representation of the GDR.
- In Somalia the federal government tried to prevent the establishment of relations with the GDR with the advice that first of all the success of the West German “reunification efforts” should be waited for.
- The West German ambassador protested against the setting up of a trade mission from Mali in the GDR.

- Brandt, in a letter to the Indonesian government, demanded from Indonesia a limitation of the activity of the GDR consulate general. At the same time Brandt demanded the confinement of Indonesia’s trade activities with the GDR and the stoppage of the language courses organized by the GDR over Indonesian radio.
- During his visit to Japan in May 1967, Brandt demanded from the Japanese government full support for the implementation of Bonn’s sole representation pretension. Bonn succeeded in having the Japanese foreign ministry reject the designation GDR on paintings loaned for the Rembrandt exhibition in Tokyo.
- At the beginning of 1967, Brandt instructed the West German representations abroad that the term “German Embassy” or “German Consulate General” is to be used exclusively on the special letter forms in the correspondence between the foreign office and the foreign representations and between the individual foreign representations.

The latest example of this extortion policy of Bonn was delivered by West German Federal Chancellor Kiesinger on the occasion of his visit to India in November 1967. This journey was decided upon when in India, as well as in many other non-aligned states, influential circles pleaded ever more strongly for the establishment of normal relations with the GDR.

Thus on 21 November 1967, forty Indian parliamentarians protested against Kiesinger’s endeavours to interfere in India’s internal affairs with a declaration in which they demand the recognition of the GDR by the Indian government. In their declaration it is stated:

“We think that India should be guided by the declarations made by its prime minister and should not allow itself under any circumstances to be dictated to by a foreign power with regard to the recognition of the German Democratic Republic. The recognition of the GDR on the diplomatic level is an essential factor in the promotion of friendship and mutual understanding.” (Reuter, 21 November 1967)

Shocked by this resistance against the Bonn policy of interference, Kiesinger, at a press conference on the same day in New Delhi, tried to intensify the blackmailing pressure on the Indian government. He declared threateningly that a recognition of the GDR “will result in the ending of the friendly relations between Bonn and New Delhi”. In this, Kiesinger continued a campaign of threats and extortions towards India which had already been conducted for months; it had been elicited by In-

dia's intention to set up a state trade office in the GDR.

This appearance of Kiesinger in New Delhi again made it clear that his travel through a number of South East Asian states served the sole purpose of maintaining the Hallstein doctrine with intensified political and economic pressure, thus disturbing international peaceful cooperation.

The intensified activity in the Nordic countries is along the same lines. The West German government deliberately uses the illusions existing in these countries regarding the participation of social democratic ministers in the Bonn government and makes use of their party contacts with leading politicians.

Thus in February 1967, deputy SPD chairman Wehner travelled to *Finland* to prevent the Finnish social democrats in the government from further improving Finland's relations to the GDR. The *Stuttgarter Zeitung* writes concerning this visit on 13 February 1967:

"As was further to be learned from Helsinki, Wehner, in a talk with Kekkonen, also asked that Finland should not follow the Rumanian example and take up full diplomatic relations with the GDR as has already been demanded by some political forces. As an expert on Scandinavia and especially Finland, Wehner is said to have tried to explain to Kekkonen that the establishment of diplomatic relations between Bonn and a few East European states must not be interpreted to mean that the two-states-theory is now also valid for neutral countries such as Finland or Sweden."

In the same spirit, West German Foreign Minister Brandt exerted pressure on the public of Sweden and *Finland* in particular during his trip to Scandinavia in June 1967. During his visit to Finland on 20 and 21 March 1967 Brandt declared, among other things:

"The core of the Hallstein doctrine is the following—and as such a core it remains an element of German policy—that we do not appreciate it and do not think it useful if one adopts an attitude toward the other part of Germany as if it were a second German state in the international legal sense."

In connection with Sweden's requests for negotiations with the EEC, Bonn tried to blackmail the Swedish government. This, among other things, clearly follows from the comment of Stig Alenyr, spokesman of the foreign policy committee of the Swedish Reichstag, delivered on 3 May 1967 concerning the proposal of 11 deputies for normalization of relations with the GDR and in which he declared that the attitude of

the West German government is such that recognition of the GDR government in any form would seriously aggravate Sweden's opportunities of attaining an agreement with the EEC in trade political negotiations.

However the Bonn foreign office did not confine itself to diplomatic activities only in this question. The foreign ministry guided by Brandt also uses all opportunities to directly damage the GDR.

Thus the foreign office, through its influence on its western allies, still today prevents the travel of GDR citizens into NATO member countries. In doing so it makes use primarily of the Western Allied Travel Board in West Berlin.

Massive political pressure is exerted on West German scientists in international scientific bodies with the aim of discriminating against GDR scientists. The Bonn foreign office issued "directives" for the behaviour of West German scientific delegations at international scientific congresses and conferences which establish in detail how their revanchist sole representation pretension in this field is to be realized. Thus, e. g., West German scientists are urged in the case of international congresses, "to influence the congress management in due time... already during the preparation period, so that the term 'GDR' will be avoided in the congress publications".

Nazi Experts Dominate the Foreign Office

With this enforced policy of extortion and interference the Bonn foreign office continues the imperial and fascist traditions of imperialist German foreign policy. This continuity of policy also corresponds with the continuity of those officials and diplomats of the Bonn foreign office who conceive and realize this policy.

Minister and SPD Chairman Willy Brandt, who now guides the foreign office, made no changes concerning this occupation of the leading positions in the Bonn foreign service by old nazi specialists which was once arranged by the Adenauer intimate Globke, author of the fascist racial laws. On the contrary! Brandt even praised this fact when he declared in an interview with the *Bunte Illustrierte*, No. 39/1967:

"Whoever managed to represent the Third Reich as loyally as the Weimar Republic, and the Federal Republic of (West) Germany as well as the Third Reich, must all the more manage to represent the different developments of our

democratic Germany in the world. For they do not represent a breach." (Page 104)

But Brandt even increased this concentration of old nazi experts in the top leadership of the foreign office. Especially symptomatic of this was the dismissal of *Lohmann* as personnel chief of the foreign office. *Lohmann* was one of the few leading officials of the foreign office who had no discriminating nazi past. Brandt replaced him with the nazi espionage expert and Bonn sole representation expert *Georg Federer*.

Thus, three-quarters of the foreign office today consists of old nazi specialists.

This closer leading body of the Bonn foreign office includes, in addition to the two state secretaries, . . . the chief of the planning staff, the inspector for the foreign representations, the ambassador-extraordinary and the heads of the seven departments. Of these twelve members of the top leadership, whose instructions are to be obeyed by 6,000 employees and officials in more than 100 foreign representations of the Federal Republic and in some 60 departments of the Bonn office and who have decisive influence on the conceiving and realization of West German foreign policy, there are nine Ribbentrop diplomats and experts from other spheres of the fascist power apparatus:

State secretary:

Lahr, Rolf

before 1945: Government counsellor in the Reich Ministry of Economy, shares responsibility for using the economic capacities of various European states for fascist war production; NSDAP (nazi party) member since 1933, member of the SA

State secretary:

von Duckwitz, Georg Ferdinand

before 1945: Legation counsellor at the fascist embassy in Copenhagen, member of the nazi party since 1935

Inspector of foreign representations:

Wehrstedt, Friedrich-Wilhelm, Dr.

before 1945: Government counsellor in the nazi state apparatus, dealt with "Jewish" property, among other things; NSDAP since 1933 (see document No. 1)

Ambassador-extraordinary:

Schmidt-Horix, Hans-Dittrich, Dr.

before 1945: Ribbentrop diplomat; lastly at the office of the "Reich plenipotentiary for Italy"; SS-Untersturmführer

Head of the personnel department:

Federer, Georg

before 1945: Active in the nazi representations in Riga and London; from September 1939, lega-

tion secretary in the IM subdepartment of the Political Department of the national socialist foreign office (cooperation with the espionage and sabotage departments of the supreme command of the nazi Wehrmacht); cultural reviewer at the nazi embassy in Bern

Head of the protocol department:

Schwarzmann, Hans, Dr.

before 1945: Among other things, liaison man between Ribbentrop and Abetz, the nazi ambassador in occupied France; in this capacity quite familiar with all important occurrences of the fascist occupation policy against France; NSDAP member since 1933 (see document No. 2) Head of the department trade and neo-colonialist development policy:

Harkort, Günther, Dr.

before 1945: Associate in the fascist Reich Ministry of Economy

Head of the cultural department:

Werz, Luitpold, Dr.

before 1945: In the foreign office since May 1933; after employment in the nazi consulates general in Barcelona and Sydney, at the nazi embassy in South Africa since February 1936; in this capacity and afterwards, one of the manipulators behind the fascist fifth column in the consulate in Laurenco Marques; NSDAP member since October 1934

Deputy head of the cultural department:

Overbeck, Karl Kuno

before 1945: Legation counsellor in Budapest, expert for espionage, member of the SA

Head of the legal department:

Thierfelder, Rudolf, Dr.

before 1945: nazi jurist, state prosecutor in Ellwangen

Further Nazi Experts in the Foreign Service

Head of the West German observer delegation at the UNO:

Braun, Sigismund von

before 1945: In the foreign office since 1933, lastly, representative of Hitler Germany at the Vatican

Head of the West German observer delegation at the European Office of the UN:

Keller, Rupprecht von, Dr.

before 1945: In the foreign office since April 1936, lastly in Ribbentrop's liaison department with the OKW (supreme army command); member of the NSDAP and the SA

Head of the representation of West Germany at the NATO:

Grewe, Wilhelm, Professor Dr.

before 1945: Foreign expert at the German Foreign Scientific Institute, belonged to the intellectual initiators and defenders of the fascist policy of aggression and force; NSDAP member

Head of the West German representation with EEC and EURATOM:

Sachs, Hans Georg, Dr.

before 1945: In the foreign office since 1940, legation secretary in the trade political department in 1944 with the "Reich plenipotentiary for Italy"

Deputy head of the West German representation with EEC and EURATOM:

Kutscher, Ernst, Dr.

before 1945: In the foreign office since May 1936, lastly at the liaison office of the "commissioner for the information system", at the same time liaison reviewer for Information Office XIV (anti-Jewish actions abroad), participant in the anti-Jewish Krummhübel conference; NSDAP member since 1933 (see document No. 3)

Deputy general secretary of the West European Union:

Krafft von Dellmensingen, Leopold, Dr.

before 1945: In the foreign office since May 1935, competent for affairs of the representation of foreign countries in the occupied areas, among other things

Head of the West German representation with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris:

Vogel, Rudolf, Dr.

before 1945: nazi journalist, censorship, officer during the war

Deputy head of the West German representation with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris:

Lanwer, Ewald, Dr.

before 1945: In the foreign office since October 1935 as consul in Apenrade (Denmark), dealt, among other things, with the "recruiting of volunteers" for the Waffen-SS and reports for the SD (security service); NSDAP member since 1933

In the already quoted interview, Willy Brandt confessed that among the nazi experts in the West German foreign office there are a few of whom he is "especially proud". The question arises what those members of the Social Democratic Party who were persecuted by German imperialism and its fascist accomplices because of their upright attitude from 1933 to 1945, have to say about this attitude of their party chairman.

The Goethe Institute as Pioneer of the Bonn Policy of Expansion

Hand in hand with the application of economic and political pressure in West German foreign policy, especially towards the young nation-states, substantial means are also employed in order to enforce the Bonn policy of expansion in the intellectual-cultural and scientific sphere of foreign relations. The magnitude of these means under the Kiesinger government can be seen in the annual report of the cultural department of the Bonn foreign office for 1966-67. According to it the budget of this department headed by the nazi diplomats and espionage experts Werz and Overbeck, amounts to 40 per cent of the total budget of the foreign office. (ARD Television Service, 27 June 1967)

A special role in this system of West German foreign propaganda is played by the "Goethe Institute". It is entrusted with the task of defending in other countries West German policy in the intellectual-cultural sphere, especially the sole representation claim, under the cover of cultural exchange and fostering the German language.

In order not to burden the official Bonn foreign policy with the "delicate activity" of the Goethe Institute it is maintained in West Germany that the institute is a private or at least semi-private organization.

But today it has long been no secret that the Goethe Institute is, strictly speaking, a department of the Bonn foreign office and that politically and financially as well as regarding staff it is completely dependent on the Bonn government. The director of the Goethe Institute reported in an interview regarding the financial dependence:

"Our budget is part of the budget of the foreign office. . . the annual budget is at the moment 27 million marks." (Free Berlin Broadcasting Station I of West Berlin, 24 April 1965)

It has to be noted in this respect that these subsidies of the foreign office cover two-thirds of the expenditure of the Goethe Institute whereas the remaining expenditure is defrayed from "private" donations.

The branches of the institute abroad are directly guided and supervised by the West German diplomatic representations. The Bundestag also regularly engages in the setting up of new lectureships and branches abroad, thus, among other occasions, also on 7 April 1965 during the plenary session held in West Berlin in violation of international law.

In order to give the Bonn foreign propaganda

a semi-official varnish and thus to let it become effective in wider circles, the foreign office transferred all official West German cultural institutes to the Goethe Institute in 1962.

The head of the "institutes abroad" department in the headquarters of the Goethe Institute, Braun, set forth the leading principles of the work of the institute under the Kiesinger-Strauss government at the beginning of 1967. As the most important task Braun formulated the "correction or supplementation of the concept of Germany"; in accordance with the sole representation pretension and the revanchist conception of a "Greater Germany", at first within the borders of 1937 as well as the "support of the Germany policy of the federal government" under the camouflage of "cultural publicity" and "educational aid".

Braun named the following main principles of the Goethe Institute:

1. Cultural publicity (information and representation, supplementation and correction of the concept of Germany, the *présence allemande culturelle*, support of the Germany policy of the federal government);

2. international social, professional, scientific exchange. (*Auslandskurier*, 2/1967, p. 22)

Within the scope of the "new" eastern policy, the Kiesinger-Strauss government has given the Goethe Institute a special task. As can be seen from an article in the *Nürnberger Nachrichten* it is to "soften up" the socialist states of Eastern Europe as a means of intellectual infiltration and to pave the way in these countries for the Bonn policy of expansion. The paper states on this:

"However, the work of the Goethe Institute is also of substantial political significance as it paves the way for (West) German foreign policy by a general improvement of climate. This is especially true with regard to the East European states, where besides the Goethe Institute the 'Academic Exchange Service' has also proven itself as a pioneer for Bonn." (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, 24 February 1967)

Main Task: Discrimination against the GDR

The Goethe Institute carries out deliberate and officially government controlled foreign propaganda and intellectual infiltration under the cover of philological and cultural work. The emphasis of this activity is clearly on the repression of the steadily growing influence of the peace policy of the GDR and discrimination against it as well as on the propagation of the "advantages of capitalism", especially in the

young nation-states, in order to keep them from taking a non-capitalist road.

The Goethe Institute and the "Academic Exchange Service" also try ideologically to enforce the softening and infiltration striven for by Bonn under the cover of philological and scientific activity in some socialist countries with partly clever methods.

Thus one finds in the reading rooms of the branches of the institute abroad among others the publication of the "Federal Ministry for All-German Questions" entitled *Central German Diary* or the book *History of the Soviet Occupation Zone*. Documentary and short films as well as series of coloured slides which bear such titles as "Totalitarianism in the GDR" or "The Inhuman Wall" are official teaching materials of the Goethe Institute. This kind of "training in the German language" is supplemented by numerous series on the "Zone". That is also why the nazi expert on the East and co-author of the "Grey Plan" of the Bonn government regarding the annexation of the GDR, Professor Thalheim, is among the regular speakers with his lecture "Economic Problems of the Reunification of Germany". (Regarding Thalheim see Document No. 4)

Also the Ribbentrop propaganda specialist for East Asia and Bonn "Sovietologist", Klaus Mehnert, is listed as a speaker of the Goethe Institute. In 1963 he gave several lectures in the branch of the Goethe Institute in Saigon (!).

Faithful to the West German doctrine of revenge, the Goethe Institute also advocates the demand of the Bonn government for the restoration of Germany within the frontiers of 1937. Accordingly, the maps sold and used in language instruction by the institute show Soviet and Polish territories as belonging to Germany.

The publications of the "Ministry for Expelled Persons", like the two volumes *Documents on the Expulsion of Germans from Eastern and Central Europe*, are also in the libraries and reading rooms of the institute. In these books the resettlement of Germans from Poland, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and other countries which was stipulated by the allies in the Potsdam Agreement in 1945 is used for discrimination against the people of Central and Eastern Europe.

Also revanchist newspapers like *Der Schlesier* are available in the reading rooms of the institute. Attempts to entice GDR citizens abroad belong to the regularly used methods of the Goethe Institute (see among others, *Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 12 January 1965).

Parallel to this campaign of defamation

against the GDR the Goethe Institute carries out intensive propaganda in order to glorify conditions in West Germany. In this connection the Federal Republic, in contrast to the GDR, is represented as the only legitimate German state. The conditions in West Germany are praised to the auditors of the Goethe Institute as an example of a democratic order of state worthy of imitation.

By a politically aimed program arrangement such auditors are primarily to be influenced who are to take up leading positions in their home countries in the near future. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* states on this:

"Trade unionists, members of cooperatives, practical administrators and adult educators are trained with the aim of making the functioning of a free social order clear to them. This program is rounded off by promoting about one hundred qualified students from the developing countries every year among whom one hopes to find future leaders." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 5 March 1965)

All activities of the Goethe Institute regarding discrimination against the GDR and the glorification and propagation of conditions in West Germany are to support the revanchist claim of the Bonn government to speak as the representative of the whole people.

But along with political-ideological tasks, the Goethe Institute also has subversive tasks. This is especially true in young nation-states, which also explains why so many specialists from the fascist counter-espionage and espionage services are today concentrated in the Goethe Institute, as for example, Abshagen and Rupert.

Before 1945 Abshagen was captain in counter-espionage department II of the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht which had the task of forming special sabotage and terrorist units which were employed behind the fronts.

Rupert worked in department VI Economy of the Reich Security Main Office with the main task of economic espionage and of incorporating the economy in Nazi espionage.

In an interview the notorious butcher of Congolese patriots, the West German mercenary, Major Müller, who has become known as "Kongo-Müller" revealed his contacts with the Goethe Institute in Leopoldville (Kinshasa):

"When I was in Leopoldville a lot, I often visited this Goethe Institute and I also had a wonderful reception. It is certainly an institution of the Federal Republic, but I would like to say we've got something that sails on two courses and not only in the Congo but everywhere in the world: the official and the unoffi-

cial policy. Nothing can be done about it, but that is the case."

Reporter: "And in your opinion the official policy was practised in the Goethe Institute? Is that so?"

Müller: "Yes, I would not like to say 'practised'—'understood'."

Reporter: "If I understood you correctly then the Goethe Institute supplied 'something like understanding musical accompaniment' to your work in the Congo?"

Müller: "Correct. The Goethe Institute completely understood what it is all about in the Congo." (*The Laughing Man—Confessions of a Murderer—Documentary film of the German Television Service (GDR) on 9 February 1966, published under the same title, Verlag Die Nation, pp. 82-84*)

This special role of the Goethe Institute in the system of West German neo-colonialism can also be seen from an article in the *Ost-West-Kurier*, the official organ of the "Federal Ministry for All-German Questions". There it says:

"A private organization is less exposed to the suspicion that everything it does only happens out of pure political calculation, than an official representation. It leaves more room for initiative, more freedom of movement for experiments. As official prestige is not at stake, it can also more easily take setbacks into account." (*Ost-West-Kurier*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 3rd week, April 1966)

Monopoly Rule—Motive of the Sole Representation Pretension

The deeper causes of the fact that all previous West German governments—regardless of their composition—constantly refused to recognize the GDR as an independent, sovereign state, are doubtless to be found in the dominant power relations in West Germany.

The monopolies and banks which have once more consolidated their old positions of power in West Germany, and after an unparalleled process of concentration, are today more powerful than ever cannot overcome the loss of their sources of profit and their centres of exploitation situated on the present territory of the GDR. In secret they constantly work out how much their profit and thereby their power and rule in Europe could be increased if they could appropriate not only their former but also the huge new centres of production which have in the meantime been built by the people in the GDR.

The West German trusts and banks do not conceal the fact that they are the ones who would like to liquidate socialism on German soil and profit from the present nationally-owned enterprises.

The West German trusts openly announce their claims to the property of socialist states in the special publication *German Joint Stock Companies with Eastern Property 1966–1967* published this year (by Hoppenstedt Verlag, Darmstadt).

According to this publication the following are to be reconquered:

- 863 enterprises in the GDR
- 282 enterprises in Poland
- 21 enterprises in Czechoslovakia
- 25 enterprises in the USSR

Since this information contains only the former joint stock companies without the subsidiary firms and no undertakings of the other forms of capitalist ownership (such as companies with limited liability and partnerships), it gives only an incomplete picture of the socialist enterprises which have already been entered in the books of the West German monopolies in advance. The main trusts among those which lament the loss of their enterprises which have become national property are:

- The IG-Farben group with 108 works including such large enterprises as Leuna-Werk near Merseburg, the Hydrierwerke Pölitz AG near Szczecin and the IG Werke in the area of the Auschwitz and Birkenau concentration camps.
- The Flick trust “deplores” a loss of 84 medium-sized and large enterprises, including the Stahl- und Walzwerke in Riesa, Freital and Hennigsdorf, the Linke-Hofmann-Werke AG (railway carriage factory) in Wroclaw and the factories plundered in the Soviet Union, Dnjepr-Stahl GmbH, Berg- und Hüttenwerke Ost GmbH and the Waggonfabrik Vairogas in Riga;
- The Siemens trust demands 81 enterprises in the GDR alone including subsidiary companies;
- The AEG trust mourns the loss of 51 enterprises, including such large factories as the Elektro-Apparate-Werk in Treptow and the Chemische Verkehrsbetriebe in Upper Silesia in Gliwice;
- The Krupp trusts speculates on regaining 11 enterprises, including the former Krupp-Gruson-Werk AG, in Magdeburg-Buckau, the Bertha-Krupp-Werke AG in Wroclaw and the Works in Soviet Magnitogorsk;
- The Degussa trust demands 13 enterprises, including the Chemische Betriebe in Berlin-

Grünau and the industrial plants in the former Ratibor (Upper Silesia).

Even more extensive are the “demands” of the three largest West German financial monopolies which in 1945 held the absolute majority of capital in 746 companies with more than 3,000 enterprises within the territories of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the USSR alone.

Of these the

Deutsche Bank had more than 372 companies, the

Dresdner Bank had more than 266 companies and the

Commerzbank had more than 108 companies. (Document No. 25/26)

These German trusts and monopoly banks were all supporters and profiteers of Hitler fascism and the nazi policy of plunder and conquest. Today they are the basic support of the political, economic and military power in West Germany.

Their leading representatives were awarded the title “war economy leader” for their “services”. Among them are such trust rulers as Flick, Krupp, Quandt, Thyssen, Röchling, almost all members of the executive board of the IG-Farben trust and the captains of the large German banks. All the 112 of “Hitler’s war economy leaders” who were still alive in West Germany in 1967 are again employed in key posts in the economy and the state apparatus. Of these,

- 16 in the Deutsche Bank,
- 15 in the IG-Farben trust,
- 11 in the Flick trust,
- 8 in the Dresdner Bank,
- 6 in the Mannesmann AG,
- 5 in Siemens and
- 3 in the Thyssen trust.

In preparing its expansionist policy the Bonn government knows how to honour the experience of these armament experts of Hitler and they have been decorated with the Federal Distinguished Service Cross, the highest order of the Federal Republic.

Under the headline “Shares in Central German enterprises had a successful year in 1954—Doubling of prices no rarity/Turnovers increased in part ten-fold” in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 5 January 1965 it said the following:

“If there was an index of ‘Soviet zone stocks’ the increase in the past year would probably amount to well over 50 per cent. In the telephone service of the Credit Institutes of the federal territory 200 stocks of undertakings are still being traded, undertakings whose seats

and assets are entirely in the Soviet zone. (In addition a further 50 stocks of undertakings in territory east of the Oder and Neisse are being traded.)

"In the past years the stocks of Central German undertakings have experienced a boom which has seldom been observed in post-war years. The doubling of prices was not unusual. As is reported in circles of the credit institutes and brokers who specialize in trade in eastern holdings, the turnover of a large number of central German stocks increased more than ten-fold in 1964."

The hope motivated by the drive for profits with which the West German monopoly capitalists study the economic success of the nationally-owned enterprises in the GDR is illustrated by another excerpt from his article:

"In the past year primarily the price of east zone brewery shares rose above average. The breweries are said to have overcome the setbacks of the post-war years best of all and are obviously working very profitably."

Thus the bankers and monopolists dream of X day which Wehner's Research Advisory Committee and Schröder's general staff are already eagerly working out on paper, and they therefore allow the "stocks" of the nationally-owned enterprises of the GDR and Poland to be sold as so-called "Eastern holdings" on the West German stock exchange just as before and even enter these "Eastern holdings" in the balance sheets of their undertakings and trusts.

The social democratic ministers, too, have to work on behalf of the West German monopolists and bankers in order to place the nationally-owned enterprises of the GDR once more at the disposal of the West German millionaires and multimillionaires as sources of profit and once more turn the workers of the GDR from owners of the means of production into the wage slaves of West German capitalists. Indeed, a more than shameful task for members of a social democratic party!

The Federal Ministry for All-German Questions (BMG)—Centre of the Struggle against the GDR

The Federal Ministry for All-German Questions has been a centre of subversion against the GDR since its foundation. Since the Kiesinger-Strauss government intended to intensify this subversive activity against the GDR with new methods, it seemed especially advantageous

for it to have this ministry conducted by the social democrat and political adventurer and agent, Herbert Wehner.

Since its foundation, the BMG had primarily the task of submitting proposals to the federal chancellor and advising him on all questions of strategy and tactics of the sole representation pretension and the policy of revenge and in the preparation of legal drafts for the so-called "legal basis for Germany's territorial claims".

This increased subversive activity of the BMG against the GDR is also reflected in the growing expenditure of the state budget for this ministry. These expenses have almost doubled from 1963 to 1967. In addition, further hundreds of millions of marks from other channels were placed at the disposal of the Wehner ministry for its revanchist activity.

To intensify and increase the effectiveness of subversive activity against the GDR, a cabinet committee was set up in February 1967 on Wehner's initiative which deals exclusively with the coordination of hostile activity against the GDR. Chaired by Kiesinger, this committee has meanwhile issued detailed directives on how the "Grey Plan" for the liquidation of the GDR (4th report of the 'Research Advisory Council' of July 1965) was to be "completed and adapted to the changing conditions in the GDR".

Subversion and Espionage against the GDR

On the subversive tasks of the BMG, which have to shun publicity, the *Telegraf* reported already on 20 August 1957:

"The ministry is not able to give an official report on many of its tasks."

And since Wehner's appointment to office this subversive activity has considerably increased. The *Sozialdemokratischer Pressedienst* wrote on 21 April 1967:

"Since Herbert Wehner took over the All-German Ministry a new phase of the Germany policy . . . the period of action has started."

What does this action look like?

Under the direct management of Wehner the subversive activity against the GDR has recently been intensified. From January to the middle of April 1967 more than one million inflammatory pamphlets have been introduced into the GDR from West Germany with balloons. Crashing balloons endangered human lives, damaged residential buildings, workshops and technical establishments, endangered traffic on roads

and railway lines, killed cattle and caused fires in forests and fields.

Tourist traffic is being misused for open espionage and denunciation. The "Head Office Central Germany" of the neo-nazi "League of patriot Youth" set up on behalf of the Wehner ministry, issued the following instruction for trips to the GDR:

"Report to the head office all impressions and experiences! Bring addresses with you... in particular of soldiers of the National People's Army and the border guards! Pay attention to delegations of West German citizens who are guests of 'GDR' organizations. Find out addresses!"

Thus unmasked the request is made to conduct espionage against the GDR and at the same time to spy on and denounce peace-loving West German citizens who are ready for understanding.

This task of subversion and espionage, which takes place in strict secrecy, is above all carried out by department I.

For example, department I causes the federal association of communal head organizations to send out instructions in a "circular letter to the 104 rural districts and towns in the zonal area of the four federal provinces of Bavaria, Hesse, Lower Saxony and Schleswig-Holstein on how provocations can be staged at the GDR state frontier. This goes as far as to lay pipes for flood ditches in the border district and to pump water onto the territory of the GDR with the aim of causing great economic damage. This economic damage on a small scale corresponds to the economic damage on a large scale by the Federal Postal Ministry which, referring to the sole representation pretension, simply does not pay the GDR for regular services by the GDR amounting to almost 1,000 million marks.

Along with ideological subversion and economic damage department I of the BMG also has the task of instilling all West German citizens with a deep hatred of the GDR. Within the framework of an international school exhibition held in Dortmund from 2 to 9 June, to which the GDR was not invited, the Wehner ministry organized a vicious inflammatory show with mendacious material about the educational system of the GDR, a system which is highly respected throughout the world, so that even the social democratic West Berlin school Senator Evers was of the opinion that this exhibition was entirely marked "by the spirit of cold war".

A special section of department I called "Affairs of the Zonal Border District and Border Districts" deals exclusively with the organi-

zation of inflammatory meetings at the GDR state frontier. The BMG issues a pamphlet for tourists to the GDR which contains gross lies about the GDR and is designed to cause feelings of anxiety and insecurity among the visitors. With this and other instigatory actions the BMG is systematically working on a "image of the enemy GDR" in order to suggest to the West German population the necessity and "moral justification" of a "liberation of the GDR".

Since Wehner came into office the "Main Office for Inquiries" attached to department I of the BMG has considerably increased its activity in questioning and spying upon GDR citizens. This espionage activity is carried out by the BMG in closest cooperation with the CIA headquarters in Frankfurt-on-Main. Leading officials of the BMG meet regularly with CIA agents with the aim of coordinating political subversive measures and actions against the GDR and other socialist countries.

Organization and Promotion of Revanchism

Department I of the BMG is not only the centre of subversion against the GDR but also for the organization and promotion of the revanchist nationalist ideology. Sections I/9 "Affairs of Expellees and Refugees" and I/10 "Folkdom" of the Wehner ministry deal exclusively with the task of binding the West German population ideally and materially, in particular the resettlers, to the Bonn revanchist policy by way of the *landmannschaften* (associations of fellow countrymen) and other revanchist organizations and institutes.

Planning Staff for the Integration of the GDR into the Capitalist System of West Germany

Department II of the BMG has the task of drafting comprehensive and detailed plans and keeping them current, plans which are to determine precisely how the GDR is to be incorporated into the West German state after annexation.

For this activity the BMG set up the "Research Advisory Council for Questions of the Reunification of Germany" which every four years publishes its "research results" in the notorious "Grey Plan".

The Research Advisory Council receives its instructions from department II, especially from sub-department II A "Basic Political Questions".

Here a program-in-stages is drafted going into every detail for abolishing the social order in the GDR which in the terminology of the assignment plan contains the following stages:

- "preparation of measures for restoring legal conditions in the Soviet occupation zone,
- preparation of transitional measures,
- restoration of final liberal and democratic conditions."

"Liberal democratic conditions", that means: to destroy socialist democracy in the GDR, to make the nationally-owned enterprises private again and to hand back the soil of the co-operative farmers to the big feudal landowners.

Sub-department II B "Publicity" is responsible for the necessary propaganda work in the spirit of this planned "annexation". In this department a veritable flood of pamphlets, films, tape recordings and exhibitions is produced with the exclusive aim of psychologically drumming into the heads of the West German population the necessity for the "liberation" of the GDR. The film, picture and tape archive comprises 188 film titles with 9,500 copies, 1,630 sound film shows and slides and 7,500 tape recordings.

Section II/10 "Political Education" coordinates the political manipulations of opinions within the Federal Republic and gives orders to the departments and specialists for "All-German" questions in the provincial governments subordinated to the BMG.

This section carries out broad educational work for "leading personnel from industry, trade and the trade unions" in the form of weekend sessions and one-week seminars, so as to make them familiar with the latest tactics of the policy of conquest and to instruct them about their specific tasks in this field. at the same time.

West Berlin—Bridgehead of the BMG

In violation of international law, department III of the BMG, "All-German Work in West Berlin", has its seat in West Berlin, which is not part of West Germany. Next to subversion and espionage the special focus of this department consists primarily in the organization of provocations at the state border of the GDR in Berlin.

This work is carried out in the closest contact with the West Berlin CIA centre at 170–172 Clayallee. Acting as liaison officer from department III with the CIA is the official Steinmann.

As has been proved by the trial before the city court of Greater Berlin against the agent Peter Feinauer, agents of the American Secret Service are in constant contact with Steinmann.

On orders of the CIA Feinauer himself supplied information, news and films to Steinmann from 1964 to 1966 about the border security installations of the GDR, organized border provocations etc., which were used by the West Berlin office of the Ministry for All-German Questions to force the political-ideological subversion against the GDR. This material supplied by Feinauer was used both for espionage purposes and also, following suitable falsification by Steinmann, for instigation and slander against the frontier security measures of the GDR at special film showings in the so-called Federal House and in the publication of inflammatory pamphlets against the GDR. (*Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 4 October 1967)

Institutions and Organizations Instructed by the BMG

It is part of the style of work of the ministry to keep in the background and to employ other institutions for the drafting and dissemination of its materials as well as for the organization of meetings and to have their representatives appear in public.

The personnel assignment plans show that the ministry is actively participating in personnel and financial affairs of semi-legal organizations and institutions, that it is the mediator and the centre for espionage and terrorist groups and that it lays down the political line for ideological subversive activity. Only a few of these institutions and organizations will be characterized here:

Research Advisory Council for Questions of the Reunification of Germany

The Research Advisory Council of the minister is the most important of the bodies subordinated to the All-German Ministry, although to the outside it is "independent". Its part as scientific planning staff for preparing the annexation of the German Democratic Republic has already been exposed in various documentations, e. g. in the *Grey Book* of the National Council of the National Front.

"Committee for an Indivisible Germany" (KUD)

The "Committee for an Indivisible Germany" (KUD) is an organ of ideological subversive

activity directed against the GDR and the entire socialist camp. Officially it is declared to be a supra-party association which has the aim of promoting the reunification of Germany. In reality the KUD was conceived by the ruling circles of West Germany in order to exert a greater influence on the West German population by loud-voiced propaganda and at the same time better to enforce and coordinate the campaign of instigation against the GDR.

"Information Bureau West" (IWE)

"IWE" is not an official news agency but an agency for the falsification of news and an espionage centre organized, inspired and financed by the BMG.

"IWE" deals with the "evaluation" of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and other publications of the GDR and fabricates and spreads slanderous and mendacious stories by way of news falsification centres such as the "Tarantel Press".

"Central Associations of Political Refugees and Injured Persons from the East" (ZPO)

"ZPO" has the task of gathering "political" refugees and primarily former criminal prisoners from the GDR in an organization so as to be able to employ them for subversive work against the GDR for payment.

"Association of the Victims of Stalinism" (VOS)

"VOS" was founded in February 1950 on the initiative of English secret service officers and with the assistance of such espionage centres as the "Eastern Bureau of the CDU", "Eastern Bureau of the SPD", "KgU" (Fighting Group against Inhumanity), "ZOPE" (Counter-Revolutionary Russian Emigre Organization) and "RIAS" (Radio in the American Sector).

The VOS is composed of persons who committed war crimes and crimes against humanity, former nazi officials and persons who had been imprisoned in the GDR for espionage and similar activity, economic crimes and criminal offences.

The work of VOS is directed at forming an anti-communist group which is recklessly ready to commit any crime against the GDR and its citizens.

"Investigation Committee of Independent Jurists" (UfJ)

The "UfJ" which works under the cover of a "legal advisory office" in West Berlin of necessity concentrated its subversive activity against the GDR on influencing the public in West Germany and in capitalist foreign countries after 13 August 1961 when direct contact with its recruited agents was disrupted.

Since that time "UfJ" has considered it one of its tasks to prove its right to exist as "expert" on legal questions of the socialist states. For years papers such as *Sachsenkurier*, *Mecklenburger Echo* and inflammatory pamphlets for various vocational groups (office employees, railwaymen, farmers, journalists) have been produced for smuggling into the GDR.

"Work Community of Democratic Circles" (AdK)

Hidden behind the camouflaged designation of "Work Community of Democratic Circles" is an organization which has an essential share in the ideological preparation for war. "AdK" was directly charged with "Defence Propaganda" by the West German government.

In cooperation with the Bonn war ministry "AdK" conducts training courses for former soldiers and young people at which the participants are instructed on questions of NATO strategy and tactics.

"AdK" works with a system of confidential persons and keeps a card-index with tens of thousands of addresses to which propaganda material instigating war is regularly sent. Since its foundation "AdK" has been maintaining close connections with rightwing radical groups and organizations.

Hitler's Expansionist Experts at the Head of the Wehner Ministry

Characteristic of the revanchist tasks of the Wehner ministry is the fact that all leading officials of this ministry were experienced occupation specialists under Hitler. Acting as state secretary and most important man after the minister in the BMG is Karl Ludwig Krautwig who at the same time is commissioner of the Bonn government for West Berlin. In 1936 the Cologne lawyer Krautwig applied for an appointment to the higher legal service of the army and was employed during the fascist aggression, among other jobs, as court officer of

the sixth tank division. A testimonial on this activity stated that "at all times he supported the national socialist ideology without reservations". (See Document No. 5)

On 1 December 1940 Krautwig was appointed military court counsellor, in 1944 senior field judge and senior military court counsellor at the court of supreme field command 589 in Liège, after he had proved his "reliability" at the court of supreme field command 672 in Lille. On 28 November 1944 Krautwig was appointed head judge of the 81st army corps.

Department I, which is organizing the direct activity against the GDR, is headed by Ministerial Director Lothar Weirauch.

During the nazi period Weirauch was head of the "Population Policy and Welfare" department of the government of the "General Gouvernement" and thus one of the most important men for the entire "Germanization policy" in occupied Poland. He participated in 1942 in a meeting of the Eichmann department in the Reich Security Main Office on the "final solution of the Jewish question".

Weirauch's deputy and direct head of sub-department I/B is Ministerial Director Henner Schattenberg. He had been a member of the nazi party since 1931. After the attack on Poland he was appointed head of a sub-department with the "Reich governor" of the occupied Warthe district in Poznan. (See Document No. 7/8)

Also the head of section I/10 "Folkdom", which was mentioned before, Dr. Ottokar Chyla, is an experienced expert of Hitler's fifth columns. In 1938 Chyla was member of the Sudeten German nazi party (SdP) and as member of the staff of group IV of the "Sudeten German Free Corps"—the Henlein SS—he had an active share in the occupation of the Sudeten area.

Head of department II is Ministerial Director Friedrich von Zahn.

Before 1945 Zahn was at first employed in the nazi interior administration as government counsellor or district president in several districts of Saxony. After the attack on Poland he participated in the constitution of the occupation administration in the "new territories of the East".

His deputy and head of the sub-department II B is Ministerial Director Dr. Emil Knoop.

As government counsellor in the Reich Economics Ministry he was responsible, among other matters, for dealing with "effects of economic measures against the Jews on foreign countries, basic economic questions of Jewish migration, work of Jews in German foreign trade, effects of foreign currency

legislation on Jews", which means that he was responsible for nothing other than the theft of Jewish property.

From 1941 on he headed section 5 of main department IV (finance) whose task was dealing with questions of the "annexed and incorporated" areas including Alsace and Lorraine and the financing of the "Folk Germans" in occupied Czechoslovakia.

One of the leading officials of department II was Government Director Dr. Bruno Maurach, responsible for carrying out propaganda trips (section II/11).

Maurach had been a member of the nazi party since 1931 and member of the SS since 1933. Since 1936 he had been working in the foreign press department (finally as senior government counsellor and group leader) of the Goebbels propaganda ministry.

Department III "All-German Work in West Berlin" is headed by Ministerial Director Heinz Gefäller who is also vice-president of the "Research Advisory Council".

Before 1945 Gefäller was counsellor of the consistory and consistorial president in Königsberg (Kaliningrad). On his appointment as consistory president his political reliability and his engagement for the nazi state were repeatedly stressed. As a church politician in East Prussia he was, among other things, responsible for the "spiritual care" of the bordering regions of Zichenau and Bialystok in line with the church policy of the nazis in the occupied eastern areas, which was tantamount to an intensive policy of Germanization. To this end he made the corresponding agreements with the "head of the civilian administration for the district of Bialystok". (See Document No. 6)

Section 6 "Care Measures of a Special Kind" attached to department III and responsible for espionage is headed by Senior Government Counsellor Herbert Spicale.

Before 1945 Spicale as government counsellor in department IV (Germandom, care for border districts, colonial questions, non-German national groups) of the nazi Ministry of the Interior was responsible for questions of "non-German national groups and special groups in the Reich" as well as for "Germandom questions" in the occupied areas and "affairs of the establishments and associations for the fostering of Germandom", the "folk German research group" and the "publication centre".

This specialist on the organization of fifth columns of the Hitler fascists is today engaged in "caring" for agents and spies who are sent

to the GDR and the other socialist countries to prepare the ground for expansion.

The Federal Ministry for Expelled Persons, Refugees and Persons Damaged by the War (BMVt)—Financial and Directing Institute for All Revanchist Organizations

The dissolving of the so-called "Ministry for Expelled Persons" was one of the demands of the democratic public in the Federal Republic which was raised in connection with the government crisis in autumn 1966. The retention of this not only superfluous but highly dangerous ministry whose very existence represents a provocation especially against the socialist countries of Europe, and the filling of the post of minister by the former Bonn war minister von Hassel, showed from the very beginning that the Kiesinger-Strauss government was determined to further strengthen the revanchist aims of the Adenauer and Erhard governments.

Whereas Kiesinger, Brandt and Wehner, without departing from their aggressive sole representation and revanchist positions, addressed a few friendly words to the countries attacked by Hitler, at the beginning of their governing activity von Hassel, the Minister for Expelled Persons, at the same time gave free rein to the organizations of German refugees for an intensified campaign of hate against these very peoples and states.

This escalation of expansionist policy under the pretext of being forced to give way to self-organized "pressure from the right", is an old formula of German imperialism which is presently applied both by the organizations of German refugees and in the demands of the NPD. Thus, at the federal party congress of the neo-fascists in Hanover, the new "Führer" of the NPD, von Thadden, thanked the grand coalition for the upsurge of the NPD which was only possible through its policy.

In the spirit of this cooperation, the "Sudeten-German Federal Congress" issued a resolution on 19 February 1967 in which "domestic political principles" are recorded:

"The assent of the governments of the United States of America, the Soviet Union and Great Britain to the expulsion of the Sudeten-Germans in the Potsdam Agreement of 2 August 1945 was also a violation of international law . . .

"Annulment of the Munich Agreement in any form by the government of the Federal Republic of Germany would be an inadmissible inter-

ference in the freedom of decision of a future all-German government and is therefore not binding for the latter." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, No. 6/1967, p. 4).

Two days later on 21 February 1967, discussions chaired by Federal Chancellor Kiesinger took place in Bonn between the federal government and leading officials of the Sudeten-German refugee organizations and the "permanent council of the East German provincial representations". The communiqué of the discussions with the Sudeten-German refugee organizations states: "The discussion took place in an atmosphere of trust . . . there was agreement that the crime of expulsion could not be recognized". (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, No. 6/1967, p. 3)

Federal Foreign Minister Brandt promised during these discussions "to consult with the Sudeten-Germans before taking decisions on which their destinies depend". (op. cit., p. 3)

The social democratic leaders do not want to be left behind in the revanchist activity which has been intensified by the Kiesinger government. Therefore, on 3 March 1967, the SPD presidium met with the executive committee of the Association of "Sudeten-German Fellow-Countrymen", on 21 April 1967, with the presidium of the "Federation of Expelled Persons", and on 12 May 1967, with the "Council of South-east German Association of Fellow-Countrymen".

For the same reasons, the Kiesinger government is taking a more active part than all previous governments in all congresses and meetings of the Associations of Fellow-Countrymen.

On 15 March 1967, about 60 members of all parliamentary groups of the Bundestag took part in a conference of the parliamentary committee of the Federation of Expelled Persons. Minister Wehner stated in the main speech:

"The aim must be a peaceful European order in which the right to the fatherland and the democratic rights of national groups can be realized." (*Neue Kommentare*, Frankfurt-on-Main, No. 9/67, p. 12)

On 15 April 1967, Federal Ministers Wehner and von Hassel participated in the Spring conference of the "Federated Associations of Fellow-Countrymen of Central Germany" as spokesmen for the federal government and acknowledged this militant anti-communist organization which has important tasks within the framework of the federal government's Eastern policy.

Kiesinger and Brandt spoke at the congress of the East German provincial representations of the BdV (Federation of Expelled Persons) on 29 April 1967. Ministers von Hassel and Lücke

welcomed the participants on behalf of the federal government on "Sudeten-German-Day", on 13 May 1967 in Munich.

At the "Germany Meeting of Silesians" on 25 July 1967 in Munich, the tone was established by the opening speeches of Federal Ministers Strauss and Wehner. Thus the members of the federal government identified themselves with the political aims of the Associations of Fellow-Countrymen through their personal involvement.

The chain of such contacts and the public appearance of government and party politicians before the various bodies of the revanchist organizations can be wilfully continued. As recently as 7 November 1967, Kiesinger, von Hassel and Wehner met with the leaders of the "Action committee of the Central German Associations of Expelled Persons and Fellow-Countrymen"—a revanchist front organization which is mainly used against the GDR. An official government report of the federal press office concerning this meeting states that the representatives of the Associations of Fellow-Countrymen who were present considered it their duty to raise their voices especially when forces arise in the Federal Republic who are prepared to relinquish positions without replacing them with equivalents.

This means that the Kiesinger-Strauss government obliges the revanchist forces to operate as shock troops, as "pressure groups" against the rising opposition, which Kiesinger calls the "recognition party".

This is also one of the main reasons why the Bonn government places such emphasis on cultivating relationships with their paid professional revanchists of the Associations of Fellow-Countrymen, whereas they obviously have no time to negotiate with the trade unions as the legitimate representatives of the West German working class e.g., on questions of social security, guarantee of employment or co-determination.

Hitler's revenge specialists were not expelled

In the Ministry for Expelled Persons as well as in the Ministry for All-German Questions and all other ministries and offices of the Bonn government, the vital key positions are held by old nazis, in this case especially by former leaders and officials of Hitler's 5th column abroad.

Thus the responsible head of Department I of the Federal Ministry for Expelled Persons, ministerial director Wilhelm von Aulock, already won his spurs as leader of the so-called provincial association Weichselgau, which operated as a

5th column from Danzig (Gdansk) before the fascist attack on Poland. Aulock was then confidential agent of the head of the "German Foundation", Kramer-Möllenberg, who directed and co-ordinated the activity of all German minority organizations abroad in the service of the government of the fascist Reich and for this purpose was provided with millions by the Ministry of the Interior. In those days von Aulock received money and commissions from the fascist German government; today he finances and organizes a whole network of revanchist organizations in the services of the Bonn government.

In Department II, nazi provincial court counsellor in occupied Poland, ministerial counsellor Horst Graebe, is responsible for the inter-ministerial and extended provincial organization of the revanchist systems. Like Aulock, Graebe was in one of the 5th columns of the nazis—in the so-called "German Association" in the Polish Warthe area—which participated in the preparation of the attack on Poland.

In Department II, besides Graebe, the departmental head, Ministerial Counsellor Silverius Kraus and Ministerial Counsellor Dr. Gerhard Wolfrum are seriously incriminated by their nazi past, especially their active work in the nazi "nationalist struggle" against the neighbouring Polish people. Kraus was, among other things, nazi provincial court counsellor in the supreme court in occupied Katowice, section leader of the NSDAP and a chief branch leader of the NSDAP teaching system.

Wolfrum was SS-Obersturmführer in the special command R of the "Folk German Registry Office" whose task as "head office of the SS" was the creation and utilization of 5th columns and the "Germanization" of occupied territories after the attack. In special command R, Wolfrum operated mainly among the "Russian Germans" in the Black Sea area, in order to influence them along nazi lines and misuse them as shock troops against the Soviet state.

The Federal Ministry of Justice— Coordination Centre for the Sole Representation Pretension in Legislation and the Administration of Justice

When the Federal Ministry of Justice was taken over by Gustav Heinemann, who had renounced a ministerial post in 1950 in protest against the policy of Adenauer and turned his back on the Adenauer-CDU, there was reason to expect that

a new spirit would now prevail at the Ministry of Justice in Bonn.

Developments during the past twelve months, however, have shown that under Heinemann's direction the dangerous course of juridical policy practised under Adenauer and Erhard was not only continued but even further intensified.

A number of laws passed during the last twelve months under the responsibility of Minister of Justice and social democrat Gustav Heinemann, reflect the determination of imperialist circles also to make use of the law to intensify the Bonn expansionist policy at home and abroad.

Juridical Annexation of the GDR

Thus, in the so-called surplus-value taxation law of 29 May 1967, in § 1, section 2, the policy of juridical annexation followed by previous federal governments against the GDR, the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland is confirmed. The term "inland" is defined as follows:

"By inland, in the sense of this law, is to be understood the territory of the German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937 (Reich territory), with the exception of customs-free regions."

(*Bundesgesetzblatt*, Part I, No. 30, 2 June 1967).

In the supplementary regulation to the law on the amendment of the provisions governing the feoffment and endowment laws, of 3 August 1967, an attempt was undertaken to legalize the robbery of property belonging to other states. It contains the following statement.

"If an endowment of civil law founded in accordance with German legal provisions had its seat outside the area of validity of that law on 8 May 1945 . . . the competent highest provincial authority (of the Federal Republic—the Ed.) may transfer the seat of the endowment without being tied to the statutory provisions . . ." (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, Part I, No. 47, 8 August 1967; see Document No. 24)

This is nothing less than claiming property which never belonged to the Federal Republic and making presumptuous pretensions to sovereign rights over all states which had once been occupied by the nazis.

In this law the West German Government not only interferes in the sovereign rights of several socialist states but also such states as France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Austria. This law furthermore legalizes the robbery of the property of these states. Significantly, this law also

bears the signature of Foreign Minister Willy Brandt.

This standardized injustice originated as a countermeasure against the judgement passed by the House of Lords, the highest English law court, on 18 May 1966 which decided that the Carl-Zeiss foundation, now as before, had its rightful seat in Jena and was subject to the laws of the GDR. The decisions on this matter by the Federal Court at Karlsruhe (24 July 1957, 1 ZR 11/56: "Fa. Carl Zeiss Heidenheim is identical with the VEB Carl Zeiss Jena;" 28 January 1958, 1 ZR (central registry) 122/55; 14 February 1958, 1 ZR 40/56: „The firm Carl Zeiss Ikon AG Stuttgart is identical with the VEB Zeiss Ikon Dresden;" 15 November 1960, 1 ZR 10/59) were described by the House of Lords as "perverse".

West German citizenship—"law"—active preparation for aggression

The West German citizenship—"law" constitutes a particularly drastic example of the juridical establishment of the sole representation pretension and juridical annexation. Federal Minister of the Interior, Lücke, expressly confirmed this fact when he stated on 24 February 1967 that:

"the inhabitants of Central Germany remained (federal) German citizens according to Art. 116 Section 1 of the Basic Law (Constitution)". (*Der Tagesspiegel*, West Berlin, 24 February 1967).

This reaction by Lücke to the law passed on citizenship of the GDR (*Gesetzblatt der DDR*, Part I, No. 2/1967) of 20 February 1967, shows that the grand coalition is just as unwilling as previous West German governments to acknowledge the results of the Second World War. They continue to interpret the term "German citizenship" as meaning citizenship of Hitler's Greater German Reich, whose meaning had been "perfected" during the Second World War by Adenauer's Secretary of State, Hans Globke—and for which, among other things, he was sentenced to life imprisonment by the courts in the GDR.

Thus, the West German citizenship law of 22 February 1955 (*Bundesgesetzblatt*, Part I, 1955, p. 65) proceeds from the dangerous thesis that the Federal Republic is identical with the German Reich defeated in 1945 and therefore is legal successor to its rights and obligations.

After Art. 116 of the West German Constitution had already declared all German "citizens" and "Volkszugehörigen" (nationals)—

a distinction taken over from the nazis—within the frontiers of 1937 to be "Germans according to the terms of the Basic Law", the recent law on citizenship further reaffirmed this monstrous pretension.

The first section expressly endorses the Germanization measures taken by the nazis during the Second World War. It provides that "German nationals granted German citizenship during the years 1938–1945 in the course of a general naturalization . . . had become German citizens in conformity with the said stipulations". This includes express reference to the "regulation on matters of citizenship with regard to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia of 6 June 1941", the "regulation on the German 'Volksliste' (list of nationals) and on German citizenship in the integrated eastern territories, of 4 March 1941", and the "regulation on the acquisition of citizenship in the regions of Lower Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, of 14 October 1941"; at that time these regulations had led to the classification of the population into those considered "worthy of life" and those considered "unworthy of life".

The nazi occupation law, which had once made life-and-death decisions concerning the inhabitants of the invaded countries, is thus expressly sanctioned by Bonn. At the same time, this means that the Bonn Government approves of the aims and methods of Hitler's war, even raising them to a legally established program. Bonn today in times of peace, is endeavouring to legalize those methods of military violation of the invaded European countries, which the nazi-Reich had endowed with a garb of formal legislative stipulations.

The fact that this policy of juridical annexation is directed both against socialist states and western states allied with the Federal Republic, was already proven in 1964 by the sterilization-expert of the nazi Ministry of Justice, Massfeller, at that time Ministerial Counsellor at the Federal German Ministry of Justice; in his book entitled "*Deutsches Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht*" (German Citizenship Laws), 2nd edition 1958, p. 413, he wrote:

"The German inhabitants of those regions still possess German citizenship today . . . since the German territories in the east presently under Polish and Soviet administration are part of the German inland. Similarly all those persons possess German citizenship whose domicile is situated in regions in the west of Germany which are at present not under German, but under Netherlands administration."

These regulations on citizenship constitute an

interference in the affairs of other states and are therefore contrary to international law. They are a revised edition of the unjust nazi occupation law, which established the obligation of loyalty to the aggressor—in violation of international law—an obligation of loyalty which the citizens of those states once invaded by the nazis are still supposed to have with regard to the Federal Republic.

This legislative mechanism is an attempt to create fifth columns by "legal" means, which are to be obliged, according to a constructed right to self-determination, to demand their "return to the Reich". The citizenship laws therefore, form a component part of the active preparations for an aggression by Bonn, expressly confirmed by the grand coalition.

Sole Representation Pretension Applied to Penal Law

This nazi "loyalty obligation" newly constructed by Bonn was most clearly expressed in the Penal Code by the Handcuff Law ("Law on a temporary exemption from German Jurisdiction" of 23 June 1966, BGBl., Part I, p. 545). This law contains the following provisions:

§ 1

"Prerequisites for exemption from German Jurisdiction

The Federal Government may exempt Germans, whose domicile or permanent residence is outside the area of validity of the Basic Law, from German jurisdiction, if they should consider this to be appropriate in view of the promotion of important public interests and taking into account all circumstances.

§ 2

Limitation for exemption from German jurisdiction

1— A time limit is to be stipulated for exemption from German jurisdiction. This should as a rule not exceed one week.

2— It may be made subject to conditions and donee obligations."

This law is based on the presumption that citizens of other states who are of German nationality are subject to West German jurisdiction.

The Kiesinger-Strauss Government insists on placing GDR citizens in West Germany under exceptional law. Whereas their leading representatives take every opportunity to speak about the need for human alleviations, they themselves have set up barricades and obstacles by

their insistence on the sole representation pretension thus preventing the normalization of relations between the two German states and their citizens.

The fundamental decisions of the West German Supreme Federal Court have not been annulled up to the present day; social organizations of the GDR such as the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, the Free German Youth, the Gymnastics and Sports Federation, the German-Soviet Friendship Society, the Farmers' Mutual Aid Association, the Association of German Cooperative Societies, the German Diet of Towns and Municipalities, the National Front of Democratic Germany and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, have been outlawed as "unconstitutional organizations". According to these basic decisions, millions of GDR citizens who belong to these organizations are branded "potential enemies of the Constitution" and may be imprisoned and brought before a law court at any time during visits to West Germany.

Functioning up to the present day, the registration centre at Salzgitter is still conducting court investigations against 6,000 GDR citizens because they had supported the protection of their state and its frontiers in conformity with the valid laws of the GDR. West German citizens are still being prosecuted as political or criminal offenders for the sole reason that they had participated in workers' conferences or other events in the GDR and because they had supported the establishment of normal relations between the two German states.

The discriminating Handcuff Law prevented an envisaged exchange of speakers between the SED and the SPD. Although Federal Minister of Justice, Gustav Heinemann, had described this law as "first-class nonsense" in an interview with the *Neue Rheinzeitung* of 23 December 1966, this law, as well as all the other laws which contradict international law passed by the West German Government, has not been repealed up to the present time.

On the contrary—unlawful practices of this kind have recently been further intensified. Thus, Federal Minister of Justice Heinemann, during the Bundestag debate on 8 September 1967, basically sided with those who presumed the right to pass judgement on internal laws and measures taken by the GDR. On 13 November 1967, the West German semi-official news agency DPA published a report, stating:

"A spokesman of the Federal Ministry of Justice declared that the Zone had been trying for a long time to apply the principles of inter-governmental legal aid relations to inner-

German legal aid relations. The Federal Ministry of Justice, however, insisted that inter-governmental relations were not valid in this connection, since the other part of Germany is not a sovereign state."

Incriminated Nazis Direct Legislation and Jurisprudence

The continuation and intensification of the legislative and juridical practices of the Adenauer and Erhard governments by the grand coalition is not surprising in view of the fact that the Adenauers, Erhards and Kiesingers come and go, but the "brown elite" remains. They had mostly been reinstated to their previous rank and partly even to their former functions thanks to the 131-law passed in the year 1951. Nearly all of them have been promoted in the Federal Republic.

They include:

Bertram, Wilhelm

before: Public prosecutor of the nazi Ministry of Justice

today: Ministerial counsellor at the Federal Ministry of Justice

Dreher, Eduard, Dr.

before: Chief public prosecutor at the Innsbruck special court

today: Ministerial director of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Ebersberg, Heinrich

before: Chief public prosecutor of the nazi Ministry of Justice

today: Ministerial counsellor of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Elsenheimer, Georg

before: District court judge at the Bamberg special court

today: Ministerial director of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Herzog, Josef, Dr.

before: Chief public prosecutor at the Provincial Court of Appeal in Prague

today: Ministerial counsellor of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Roemer, Walter

before: Chief public prosecutor of the Munich special court

today: Ministerial director of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Saage, Dr.

before: Appeals Court counsellor of the nazi Ministry of Justice

today: Ministerial director of the Federal Ministry of Justice

Spreckelsen, von, Heinrich, Dr.

before: Superior provincial court counsellor of the nazi Ministry of Justice

today: Ministerial director of the Federal Ministry of Justice

More than 800 former judges or public prosecutors of nazi special courts are at their disposal.

The "New" Eastern Policy—a Conception for Changing the Status Quo in Europe

include, "... that the German eastern territories have increasingly been included in the Polish state association." (Foreign Minister Brandt, at the SPD Federal Conference, Bad Godesberg, 13 November 1967)

On 4 October 1967, following the official visit of de Gaulle to the People's Republic of Poland where he had described the western frontier of Poland as just and unalterable, Bonn Ambassador Klaiber intervened in an official demarche against this realistic attitude.

"Czechoslovakia constantly insists that we agree that the Munich Agreement has been null and void since its inception. This, of course, is

WORDS:

**"We are therefore interested in improving relations with our eastern neighbours, who have the same wish in all spheres of economic, cultural and political life."
(Government Declaration by Kiesinger of 13 December 1966)**

DEEDS:

In their Bucharest Declaration of July 1966, the socialist states of Europe proposed the recognition of the inviolability of frontiers as the basis of lasting peace in Europe to all European states. This proposal was rejected by the Kiesinger-Strauss government.

Instead, the Kiesinger government demands the alteration of the status quo to the advantage of West German imperialism. "... we are asked to accept and legally confirm the status quo—that is to say, unconditional surrender. No one will force us to do this. Neither all at once, nor in stages." (Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, 23 May 1967, at the CDU Party Congress in Brunswick)

"Does not the exclusion of the use of force imply acknowledgement of the status quo, acceptance of the given situation? That is exactly what we do not want." (Gerhard Jahn, Parliamentary State Secretary at the Foreign Office in Bonn, in SPD Pressemitteilungen und Informationen, 21 June 1967)

"We should start from the present facts if we wish to alter the facts." The facts to be altered

incorrect." (Federal Chancellor Kiesinger at the National Press Club in Washington)

The Lie about the "New" Eastern Policy

At the Bucharest Meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the participating states of the Warsaw Treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, the following statement was made in the interests of guaranteeing lasting peace and security in Europe:

"The interests of peace and security in Europe and in the whole world as well as the interests of the German people demand that the ruling circles of the Federal Republic of Germany should take into account the real situation in Europe. This means: they must proceed from the fact that two German states exist; they must abandon the demand for the revision of frontiers in Europe, the presumptuous claim to represent the whole of Germany and the attempts to exert pressure on other states wishing to recognize the German Democratic Republic. They

should renounce the criminal dictate of Munich and recognize that it has been invalid from the outset. They should prove by deeds that they are really learning the lessons taught by history, putting an end to militarism and revanchism and will conduct a policy of normalizing relations between the states and developing cooperation and friendship among the peoples."

This statement also established a standard for the readiness of the grand coalition government in Bonn, formed on 1 December 1966, to conduct a genuinely new kind of policy in the interest of peace and security in Europe.

However, immediately after his nomination as Federal Chancellor by the CDU/CSU, Kiesinger declared on West German television on 25 November 1966:

"Of course the successful policy conducted in the past will be continued."

Six months later Kiesinger's Social Democratic Foreign Minister Willy Brandt stated even more plainly, that: "the present situation that prevails in Europe will not continue for ever... A system of European peace should not be conceived simply as though the results of the Second World War only needed to be confirmed." (*Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government*, Bonn, 4 July 1967)

In the foreign policy debate in the Bundestag, Brandt officially repeated on 7 June 1967:

"It should be understood—and we say so quite frankly—that we wish no strengthening, no commitment to a sterile status quo."

Thus Brandt acted in conformity with the guiding lines of West German government policy as Franz Josef Strauss had formulated it in his programmatic book *Entwurf für Europa*:

"The era of power politics has by no means come to an end... The time has arrived when a realistic demand to change the face of the world must be raised, in order to alter the balance of political power and to attain a new military equilibrium..."

"Each move towards the unity of Europe and thus towards the strengthening and autonomy of Europe will result in an alteration of the status quo, of course, to the advantage of the west."

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger formulated the exact opposite to the stipulations of the Bucharest Declaration in an interview with the *Stuttgarter Nachrichten* on 28 February 1967, when he said:

"The maintenance of the status quo is not relaxation."

He sharpened this idea in his address to the

notorious revanchist organization of "East German Provincial Representations" in Bonn on 28 April, when he stated:

"You may rest assured that this federal government will not follow those who advise the simple acceptance of existing conditions."

The chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Rainer Barzel, speaking at the Hamburg Overseas Club, also said that West German policy was aimed at altering the status quo, even at the risk of thereby becoming a stumbling block, but that the West German government had set its mind on being "inconvenient". In these words Barzel plainly revealed the "new" eastern policy of the Kiesinger-Strauss government which intends to persist in its function as "trouble-maker" a policy which had already brought down the Erhard government, only draped in new words.

The basic significance of this expansionist policy conducted by Bonn behind a screen of peace assertions was expressed in the following passage in *Entwurf für Europa* by Strauss:

"The aim should be to work in a long-term process, both by means of exerting an influence on those countries and in persistent negotiations with Moscow, so that these countries once again become a component part of Europe, to begin with, at least in the sense indicated by the term inter-Europe... It should be our task to create a belt between Russia and Western Europe, an 'inter-Europe'..." (*Entwurf für Europa*, pp. 46 and 55)

Strauss left no doubt as to the ultimate phase of this program of expansion:

"A united Western Europe is to be the preliminary stage to the United States of Europe, in which I should like to include all the populations of Central and Eastern Europe as well. United Europe is to take up the position of an independent power between the United States and the Soviet Union, thus ensuring the superiority of free (i.e. the capitalist-editor) society in the world play of political forces." (*ibid.*, pp. 26–27)

The ultimate aim therefore consists in the establishment of a European system ruled by West German imperialism and extending "from the Atlantic to the Bug and the Black Sea". (*ibid.* p. 83)

With the aim of achieving this objective envisaged by Strauss, the Kiesinger-Strauss government is striving to apply new methods to serve an old purpose despite the changed relation of forces. The hope is being nurtured that distinctions could be made between the socialist states of Eastern and South-eastern

Europe with a view to undermining their cohesion, separating them from the Soviet Union and thus isolating and cutting off the German Democratic Republic from its natural allies—which is the foremost objective of Bonn's aggressive policy.

By this "new" eastern policy the Kiesinger/Strauss government lines up behind the "bridge-building" tactics of the American global strategy. In return, Washington is allowing the Bonn government a wider scope for activities aimed at enforcing its aggressive designs concerning the GDR and the other socialist states.

Basically, these tactics and methods are not new at all. The principle of "divide et impera"—divide and rule—is an age-old recipe of the ruling class of exploiters. During the time of Hitler-fascism these tactics were a major instrument of the nazis applied with a view to systematically reducing the peoples of Europe to a state of utter defencelessness and defeat. Kiesinger and Strauss therefore are by no means the originators of this "new" eastern policy, but are only putting into application today what they had learnt under Hitler, Ribbentrop and Goebbels.

When the nazi government feared active intervention by Czechoslovakia at the time of the annexation of Austria, for example, Göring reassured the Czechoslovak ambassador in Berlin on 11 March 1938, that the annexation of Austria would not exert an unfavourable influence on the relations between Hitler-Germany and Czechoslovakia, and that the Hitler government was continuing its serious endeavours to improve mutual relations. (See *International Military Tribunal*, Vol. I, p. 217)

After the occupation of the Saarland Hitler declared on 26 September 1938, speaking at the Sportpalast in Berlin:

"Following the return of the Saarland to Germany, which was decided by a plebiscite, I immediately assured France that henceforth no differences at all existed between us... None of us want war with France..." (Schulthess' *European Historical Calendar*, 1938, p. 151)

Immediately after this demagogical peace assertion, revealed as a lulling manoeuvre, Hitler proclaimed the ultimatum announcing his next aggressive intention—the annexation of the Sudetenland.

"And now we are confronted with the next problem which must be solved and which will be solved! It is the last territorial claim which I have to assert in Europe, but it is a claim which I shall not abandon and which, so God help me, I shall assert..." (ibid. p. 152)

The programmer of the government policy of the grand coalition, Franz Josef Strauss, left no doubt as to the aim of these differentiation-tactics now also practised by the Kiesinger/Strauss government:

"We have no reason to alter the principles and aims of our policy, but we have good reason continuously to check up on the correctness of the methods of our policy and to adapt them to the fast-changing tendencies of our time. Not the principles and not the aims, but the methods." (RIAS II, 24 May 1967)

The chairman of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, Rainer Barzel, stated in this connection:

"Our juridical, moral and historical positions remain unchanged. Our methods can and must change." (Before the Bundestag, 1 February 1967, according to Free Berlin Radio Station III, 1 February 1967)

This was also underlined by Freiherr von und zu Guttenberg, parliamentary state secretary in the Federal Chancellor's Office:

"There could be no other eastern policy of the Federal Republic than that conducted up to now. The world has changed. The west has replied to this by the policy of relaxation—I say the so-called policy of relaxation. This includes the adaptation of (West) German policy to the changed scenery. The methods must always be adapted to the respective conditions. But this does not mean that positions which cannot be given up can even be nibbled at." (Address to the revanchist Sudeten German Ackermann-Gemeinde at Königstein, 28 July 1967)

The "positions which cannot be given up" according to Guttenberg are quite openly revealed by the new party program of the NPD—following the recipe that the political right wing must always be "two degrees louder than the federal government, so that the federal government can become one degree louder". (CSU Deputy Dr. Walter Becher at the Federal Congress of the "Federation of Expelled Persons" at Wiesbaden)

This program contains the following statement:

"This Germany is indeed to liberate East Germany from its communist regime. It is also to embrace the eastern territories at present annexed by Poland and the USSR, the Sudetenland reconquered by Czechoslovakia, Austria, 'which is not really a nation', and South Tyrol, oppressed by Italy." (AFP, 13 November 1967)

The Bonn Lie of the Renunciation of Force

At the same time as maintaining all the attributes of revanchism—the core of which is the Bonn sole representation pretension—the Kiesinger/Strauss government is demagogically proclaiming its readiness to exchange declarations on the renunciation of force with the states of Eastern and Southeastern Europe.

In his Government Declaration of 13 December 1966 Kiesinger stated in this connection:

The last federal government also offered an exchange of declarations on the renunciation of force to the Soviet Union, with a view to laying renewed stress on the fact that it had no intention of achieving our aims by other than peaceful means. The federal government today repeats this offer, also to the address of the other states of Eastern Europe." (*Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government*, Bonn, No. 157/66)

Yet the federal government itself drives its declaration of "readiness to renounce the use of force" to an absurdity by continuing to assert territorial demands, refusing to recognize the Oder-Neisse line and excluding the GDR—which according to Bonn is not a state—from the renunciation of the use of force.

Already on 19 December 1966 Brandt stated in the Bundestag that the federal government had "stated its readiness to include in its offer to renounce the use of force the unsolved problem of German division and its solution". (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 December 1966)

These tactics were further developed by Herbert Wehner, who called for the direct inclusion of "this problem . . . (of German division—editor) in the exchange of declarations renouncing the use of force with the states of Eastern Europe". (*NDR/WDR*, 20 February 1967)

Gerhard Jahn, parliamentary state secretary (state secretaries in the ministries appointed by the Bundestag) at the Foreign Ministry in Bonn left no doubt about these tactics, emphasizing:

"Does not the exclusion of the use of force imply the acceptance of the status quo in Germany, an acquiescence in the given situation? *Just that is what we do not want.*" *SPD-Pressemitteilungen und Informationen*, 21 June 1967)

The Bonn government is thus trying to revise the results of the Second World War with the aid of an exchange of declarations on the renunciation of force with the socialist states of all things, states which are allied with the GDR by the Warsaw Treaty and by agreements on friendship and mutual assistance. The Bonn

government would like to obtain a blank cheque from the allies of the GDR with the aid of such declarations in order to be able to fetch the GDR "home to the Reich" with military force, expecting the other socialist states to stand idly by during this aggression.

Furthermore the fact that such renunciations of force are also to be made by Bonn on behalf of and for the GDR is intended to induce the socialist countries to recognize Bonn's sole representation pretension in regard to the GDR. In this way declarations renouncing the use of force are to be utilized as a means of anticipated aggressions against the GDR.

This plan of Bonn constitutes no more than a new edition of the Nazi tactics which Hitler practised in his disgraceful Munich dictate.

In October 1938 Hitler solemnly pledged not to use force to the participants of the notorious Munich Conference, both in regard to those states and to the remains of Czechoslovakia. Five months later the swastika banner was waving over the Hradčany castle. Not long after that Hitler's Wehrmacht was marching into France, and Göring's Luftwaffe and V-1 and V-2 rockets were destroying lives, homes and industrial areas in Great Britain.

Declarations renouncing the use of force are to be used as a means by which Bonn would like to persuade the allies of the GDR to abandon one of the main factors ensuring their own security—namely, the guaranteed security of the GDR lying in front of their own frontiers, by the abandonment of the sovereign rights of the GDR. The peoples of the states of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, however, are aware that their own security, too, is guaranteed along the Elbe and Werra rivers, along the state frontiers of the GDR.

The Lie of the Reconciliation with Poland

Kiesinger had declared in his government declaration:

"There is a lively desire among broad sections of the German people for a reconciliation with Poland, whose sorrowful history we have not forgotten and whose demand to live at last in a state territory with secure borders we understand better than in former times in view of the present fate of our own separated people."

All ministers of the Kiesinger government are sworn to this rule of language in order to deceive the people abroad with fair words about a "new" policy also with regard to Poland.

Hitler too, had as is known, acknowledged the "Treaty on the exclusion of violence" with

Poland in his "Peace Speech" on 21 May 1935 before the fascist Reichstag, as an agreement which was "to be blindly observed" and had stressed:

"We recognize the Polish state as the home-
stead of a great people with national feel-
ing..." (Schulthess' *Europäischer Geschichts-
kalender* (European Calendar of History), 1935,
page 114)

However, on 22 August 1939, he declared his
true intentions before the supreme commanders
of the Nazi Wehrmacht:

"It was clear to me that a conflict with Poland
had to come sooner or later.

"At first I wanted to restore an acceptable
relationship with Poland in order to first of all
fight against the West. But this plan which was
more to my liking could not be carried out..."
(International Military Tribunal, Vol. I, page 224)

Today, the Bonn government makes efforts for
an alleged "reconciliation with Poland" in the
same manner. However, the Kiesinger/Strauss
government at the same time refuses to recog-
nize the Oder-Neisse border with the argument:
"...the borders of a reunified Germany can
only be established in a freely negotiated settle-
ment with an All-German government". (Gov-
ernment declaration of 13 December 1966)

This point of view has been confirmed on the
most varied occasions by the CDU/CSU as well
as by the SPD.

The chairman of the parliamentary fraction of
the SPD, Helmut Schmidt, for instance, declared
before the exclusive Hamburg Overseas Club
on 20 March 1967, that whoever desired a gen-
eral, internationally legal settlement of the Ger-
man-Polish borders and their recognition by all
Germans, would have to provide for the Ger-
man nation as a whole as partner. Franz-Josef
Strauss formulated the same basic thesis in the
following manner:

"We have declared—definitive borders of a
reunified Germany only on the conclusion of
peace. That means, therefore, that a govern-
ment competent to negotiate for one Germany
must exist." (Second German Television Pro-
gram, 11 May 1967)

How such an imperialist All-Germany really
wants to settle the border problems with its
neighbour Poland has been made quite clear
by the government of the grand coalition dur-
ing the last twelve months:

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger:

"My government is no government of illusion-
ary renunciation. On the contrary... We must
join the movement of current world politics, if
we want to utilize it for our vital interests.

"I can summarize our aim in a very simple
sentence: We want to save as much as pos-
sible for Germany." (Before the "East German
National Representation" in Bonn on 29 May
1967)

Herbert Wehner:

"The Germans in Silesia have always ful-
filled a bridging function between Central and
Eastern Europe. In our time it is necessary to
bring to bear this point once more." (*Der Schle-
sier*, Recklinghausen, 22 June 1967)

Willy Brandt:

"The unconditional acceptance of what was
unilaterally predetermined at the expense of
Germany, that extreme prefulfilment always de-
manded from us, would be a disregard of the
sense of justice which no government could ex-
pect from its people." (*Der Schlesier*, Reckling-
hausen, 22 June 1967)

Federal Minister for Expelled Persons, Kai
Uwe von Hassel:

"The hope of those expelled from their home-
land lives on through the knowledge developed
during a long history, that the first duty towards
the homeland is loyalty. The reward is not a
question of any particular day but it is certain."
(Welcoming address to the "Federal Rally of
Silesians" on 22 June 1967 in Munich)

A further revealing example for the true atti-
tude of Bonn towards the Oder-Neisse border
was the West German reaction to the visit of de
Gaulle in Poland in September 1967 which did
not shrink from direct interference in the affairs
of foreign states. An organized press campaign
against the realistic attitude of France system-
atically prepared the step for diplomatic ac-
tions. The Hamburg paper *Welt* which belongs
to the Springer trust, demanded on 11 Sep-
tember:

"The greatest stumbling block was then
supplied at the week-end by our friend and ally,
French President Charles de Gaulle. His asser-
tions in Hindenburg and also in Danzig, which
plainly exceeded all bounds of political wis-
dom, historic truth as well as prudence, demand
an answer from Bonn." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg,
11 September 1967)

The Springer-trust newspapers and those of
the Associations of Fellow-Countrymen, were
solidly united in their rude affronts against the
head of state of a great European nation with
the most offensive nazi terminology as is proven
by an article from the revanchist organ *Unser
Oberschlesier*:

"During his trip to Poland, de Gaulle has
staged a pettifoggery, two-faced, side-stepping
performance.

"His mad assertion that our old German and Upper Silesian town of Hindenburg is the most Polish of all Polish towns is a dangerous falsification of history. We therefore expect that the right answer is at last unmistakably given from the official German side to the hoary gentleman on the Seine regarding his more than senile escapades and perversion of historical facts." (Quoted from ADN of 29 September 1967)

The presumptuous demand for a "clarification" of the statements of de Gaulle in Poland was willingly taken up by the federal government while this press campaign was still in progress. The West German ambassador in Paris, Klaiber, an old Ribbentrop diplomat and member of the Nazi party, finally carried out this diplomatic action on direct instruction of the federal government and made representations to de Gaulle on 4 October.

The extreme revanchist spirit of the Bonn government is therefore not only expressed by its announced intention to change the status quo and annex its immediate neighbouring state—the GDR—but also in the presumption of appearing as a judge on the validity or non-validity of borders which connect two other sovereign states.

In this respect it must be established—in complete agreement with the point of view of the leading personalities of the People's Republic of Poland:

1. The Oder-Neisse border is not a West German-Polish border and will never be a border between the Federal Republic and the People's Republic of Poland. Without doubt, an honest acknowledgement of this border, which is not a border of the Federal Republic, by the West German government, would represent an important contribution to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and to European security.

2. The Polish people live within secured and final borders. No border problem exists for the People's Republic of Poland, neither today nor in the future.

3. The Bonn talk of the necessity "of solving the German-Polish border question in mutual agreement", later—within the scope of "a peace treaty to be concluded with an All-German government"—proves that West German imperialism would only be prepared to enter "negotiations" after the annexation of the GDR had been effected so that it would be situated directly on the Polish borders; this would then be similar to the "negotiations" of Hitler with Schuschnigg prior to the occupation of Austria.

Essentially, no thesis regarding Poland is

more aggressive or revanchist than the hypocritical, pseudo-peace "reconciliation thesis" of Kiesinger, Brandt and Wehner.

The Lie of the "Duty to Protect the Sudeten Germans"

Kiesinger hypocritically stated in his government declaration:

"The German people would also like to come to an understanding with Czechoslovakia", and immediately proved these words a lie when he continued:

"It (the federal government—the editor) agrees to the opinion that the Munich Agreement which came about under the application of force is no longer valid. However, problems still exist requiring solution, as for instance that concerning the right of citizenship. We are aware of our duty to protect the Sudeten German fellow countrymen, as well as all other expelled persons and refugees..." (Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, No. 157/1966)

In fact, however, the obstinate refusal of the Bonn government to dissociate itself from the infamous Munich dictate, which led to the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, and to declare this agreement null and void from its inception, exposes the statement about wanting to come to an understanding, as a lie.

The true attitude of the federal government was explained by Kiesinger before the *National Press Club* in Washington on 18 August 1967:

"Czechoslovakia constantly insists on our consent that the Munich Agreement was null and void from the moment of its inception. That is of course not correct." (Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, No. 85, 1967).

In a letter from West German Minister of Finance, Strauss, to the "Association of Fellow-Countrymen of Silesia", the following attitude is taken regarding this infamous dictate:

"The validity of the Munich Agreement came about in line with international law and it can therefore not be annulled with *ex tunc* effect." (*Deutscher Ostdienst*, No. 19/67, page 7)

However, it is a generally accepted basic position of international law that international agreements and treaties are void if they came about under threat or the application of force and without the participation of those affected. As is known, this point of view is also emphatically held by the present French government particularly with regard to the Munich Agree-

ment which at the time was countersigned by Daladier—and is a precedent of international blackmail contrary to international law.

However, the West German government speaks with impudence of the original legal validity of the infamous Munich treaty, which was clearly characterized by the International Court of Justice in Nuremberg as a crime against peace and as an instrument of direct preparation for aggression.

Bonn therefore only speaks of the “invalidity of the Munich Agreement” and of its “being disregarded by Hitler” because it would also like to keep open the road to similar blackmail towards the Czechoslovak People’s Republic for the enforcement of its policy of expansion.

With the “problems requiring a solution” and the Bonn “duty to protect the Sudeten German fellow-countrymen”, further insidious revanchist mantraps are kept at the ready:

Willy Brandt:

“We must—this must also be understood in the Western world—appreciate the feelings of our Sudeten German fellow-countrymen, and we are and will remain conscious of our *duty to protect them...*” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 December 1966)

Herbert Wehner:

“We let ourselves be surpassed by no one in the seriousness of observing our *duty to protect* all those expelled from their homeland and all refugees.” (*Rheinischer Merkur*, 21 April 1967)

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger:

“This federal government is conscious of its *duty to protect all* Germans and in its Eastern

habitants of the Czechoslovakian Sudeten area —“temporarily” placed under the “protection” of the federal government—as provisional citizens of the Federal Republic, and that the supreme aim of the expansive West German policy continues to be “to lead them back to their hereditary homeland”.

In conformity with their pretended efforts to create a “European Order of Peace”, the Kiesinger/Strauss government is presently trying to make its territorial claims legally incontestable. Since the so-called “Right to the Homeland” is internationally unacceptable because of its revanchist context and the West German Federal Republic discredited itself to an ever increasing extent by upholding this “right”, it now augments its demands that a “European national group right” must be part of a so-called European order of peace (e.g. Brandt on 2 July 1967 in *Deutschlandfunk radio*). The maintenance of territorial claims is to be made legally incontestable by means of this so-called European “national group right”.

At the same time, West Germany wants to create for itself by means of this national group right a legally safeguarded instrument for interference in the affairs of other states and a revival of Hitler’s fifth column by the formation of such national groups.

Against the Renunciation of Atomic Weapons and Disarmament

WORDS:

“The (West) German government supports a consistent and effective peace policy which removes political tensions and checks the armament race. We shall cooperate in proposals for armament control, armament reduction and disarmament.”

(From Kiesinger’s Government Declaration of 13 December 1966)

policy it will never lose sight of the interests of the whole German people.” (before the “East German National Representation” on 29 May 1967)

With the terminology “duty to protect”, Bonn lets it be known that it considers the former in-

FACTS:

In Resolutions 2149 (XXI) of 4 November 1966 the General Assembly of the United Nations asked all states “to take all necessary steps to facilitate the conclusion of a treaty on the non-

proliferation of nuclear weapons and to ensure as soon as possible that all actions which could promote the spread of nuclear weapons or obstruct the conclusion of an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons" are omitted.

The federal government resisted this demand in every way possible.

In his letter to Chancellor Kiesinger Chairman Willi Stoph of the Council of Ministers proposed, for example, that the governments of the two German states agree by treaty to reduce their armament expenditures by one half each and declare their renunciation of the possession, control, or participation in the control over atomic weapons in any form. This proposal was rejected by Kiesinger on 13 June 1967.

Instead:

- Bonn "disarmament commissioner" Schnippenkötter handed over in Washington fifty objections to the submitted draft treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons and has thereby prevented its conclusion up to now,
- the federal government decided to increase its armament expenditures by 10 per cent in the next five years and to increase the atomic carrier devices of the Bundeswehr,
- the Bundeswehr rehearsed the blitzkrieg against the GDR in the Hermelin II manoeuvre using atomic weapons according to Israeli experiences.

Torpedoing the Atomic Weapon Non-proliferation Treaty

Whereas the 18-state Disarmament Committee in Geneva makes efforts to check the atomic war danger through the conclusion of an atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty and thus fulfil the decision of the UN General Assembly which was passed on to the Disarmament Committee, Strauss declared to British Prime Minister Wilson and Foreign Minister Brown the true attitude of the West German government:

"I am an opponent of this treaty."

(*Der Spiegel*, No. 9, 20 February 1967)

And on the occasion of Kiesinger's trip to the USA the Strauss paper *Bayern-Kurier* prophesied:

"As regards the theme of the atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty the federal chancellor who has developed from a sceptic to a enemy of the treaty will not miss the opportunity to present doubts and desires for changes."

(*Bayern-Kurier*, Munich, 12 August 1967)

Pretexts for Camouflage

With several objections and persistent efforts to organize an international Fronde, the West German government tries to prevent the treaty from coming into existence. West German Chancellor Kiesinger recently made the following objections with which the real causes for Bonn's attitude of rejection are to be camouflaged:

"One cannot yet speak of a consent of the federal government to the atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty. I have explained our standpoint in all my talks with the competent American politicians, also with the American president. It is first a question of the unhindered peaceful, scientific, technical and economic development of atomic energy..."

(Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government, Bonn, 11 October 1967, No. 110)

What is in truth behind this "concern for scientific-technical progress" has been expressed by NATO Ambassador Grewe before the West German "Society for Foreign Policy" on 24 January 1967:

"... Nations without their own production of nuclear weapons will not be able to keep up in their scientific-technical development with those which themselves develop and produce nuclear weapons..." (*Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 10 February 1967)

Thus it is a question of their own production of nuclear weapons which is not to be blocked by the atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty.

Another proof of the policy of obstruction of the West German government is represented by the demands raised by Kiesinger and Brandt for a "limitation in time" of the treaty and for a "revision clause". Their aim consists in ensuring that the treaty—if its conclusion cannot be prevented—at least leaves open loopholes to the access to nuclear weapons. By doing so, however, the treaty would actually legalize the spreading of nuclear weapons instead of banning it. Bonn speculates that an agreement thus undermined either does not come into existence at all or would be ineffective in practice.

Bonn Threatens and Extorts

The government in Bonn therefore makes every effort, through expedient diplomatic actions and through its membership in various West European associations, to win as many of its allies as possible to support its policy directed

against the atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty.

In doing so the ruling circles in West Germany do not shy from the attempt even to put pressure on their NATO partners.

The so-called disarmament commissioner of the West German government, Ambassador Schnippenkötter, handed over a paper in Washington which contained no less than fifty objections to the draft treaty.

Under the heading "Atomic non-proliferation treaty—detrimental to the Atlantic alliance" *Die Welt* threatened on 31 October 1967:

"The leading men in Washington should have recognized meanwhile that they can have only one thing—either the non-proliferation treaty or an Atlantic policy."

And the representative of West German monopoly capital in EURATOM, Robert Margulies, made clear in an interview with the *Frankfurter Rundschau* how Great Britain is to be blackmailed:

"If London signs the so-called atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty, Great Britain will probably not be able to become a member of the three European communities... Since Great Britain is also in the possession of suitable plants it could become the chief supplier for the community and with this practically buy membership in the community of six. However, the prerequisite would be that London does not deprive itself of this possibility by signing the non-proliferation treaty." (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 15 February 1967)

This blackmailing manoeuvre was intensified on the occasion of the devaluation of the pound. Whereas first the Bonn government had done everything to sharpen the crisis of British currency, it participated after the devaluation of the pound with 800 million marks in the international support action in order to get this contribution remunerated in the field of foreign policy, for example, in that of the nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty. Social democratic minister Schiller indicated this to his Labour colleague Wilson with the words that the "considerable (West) German support for the pound sterling... must be used for a new course in British policy". (*Die Welt*, 20 November 1967)

At the same time the Kiesinger government tries with the help of its social democratic foreign minister to induce other non-atomic states to support the West German manoeuvres against the conclusion of an atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty.

Thus Brandt undoubtedly had a part in initiating the resistance of Japan during his negotia-

tions with the Japanese foreign minister. The *Handelsblatt* openly declared

"that Japan's critical attitude to a few paragraphs of the draft (of the non-proliferation treaty—editor) was obviously aroused by the (West) German initiative."

(*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, 16 May 1967)

And Willy Brandt even used the good relations from the period of his exile and his reputation as an anti-fascist and social democrat to win the Scandinavian countries for the Bonn course of obstruction. According to *DPA* Willy Brandt declared on 26 June 1967:

"I had an opportunity to show the Swedes certain aspects which speak in favour of maintaining the EURATOM and its cooperation with the international atomic organization in Vienna."

There is no doubt that the lack of the control article in the draft treaty submitted by the USSR and the USA in August 1967 and the fact that since then agreement on a corresponding article could not be reached is to be attributed to Bonn's policy of obstruction. The resistance of the Kiesinger government and its military leaders proves to be the chief obstacle to the conclusion of such a treaty.¹

The Military-political Conception for Overcoming the Status Quo

The background of the many obstructionist manoeuvres of the Kiesinger/Strauss government against the atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty is formed by the striving of the government of the grand coalition to strengthen the nuclear weapons equipment of the West German Bundeswehr through NATO for its new military political conception.

At the 13th commander's conference of the West German Bundeswehr war minister Schröder referred to the role of NATO as political and military backing for the Bonn policy of expansion for the overcoming of the status quo in Europe. In front of 200 high Bundeswehr commanders and leading officials of the federal war ministry and in the presence of the old experts with "eastern experience" from Hitler's general staff, Schröder explained the new military political conception of the Kiesinger government as follows:

¹ A detailed presentation of the Bonn obstructionist actions against the atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty is contained in the documentation entitled *Barrage Fire against the Atomic Weapon Non-proliferation Treaty* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"1) For political and strategic reasons our security cannot be guaranteed in only a nation-state framework, it therefore rests on the alliance. We owe to it the external safeguarding of our existence up to now and in the foreseeable future.

"2) Nor can the goal of our German policy be realized by us alone. Our claim to speak for the entire German people and our efforts to refuse recognition as a second German state to the regime supported by the Soviet government need the constant support of our allies. These problems connected with it are currently dealt with in the NATO Council and in its Political Committee, often in wearisome details . . .

"Determent, flexible reaction and full defence are the foundations of our strategic conception . . . They (the armed forces—editor) must have such a structure and be so armed that they form an essential element of deterrence and are capable, when need arises, of reacting flexibly and adequately. This requires a balanced conventional and nuclear equipment also of the German armed forces. We cannot renounce the nuclear carrier devices . . ." (*Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government*, No. 69/67, 30 June 1967)

The intention which becomes clear in Schröder's statements, namely, to keep open for the West German army the access to shared control over the use of atomic arms by way of control over nuclear carrier devices, increasingly determines the military political discussion in West Germany in the last months.

Under the slogan "security policy is atomic policy" Adelbert Weinstein, the influential military theorist of West German monopoly capital—who has just completed an assignment at the front in Vietnam—developed this conception with cynical frankness in an article of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 9 August 1967. Weinstein writes, for example:

"Our divisions are one means of maintaining the integrated multi-national character of defence in Central Europe. As long as a possible enemy meets American troops immediately every collision at the iron curtain will bring about the world conflict . . . For the American 7th Army could not fight without atomic weapons. A non-atomic Bundeswehr at the side of the Americans is scarcely thinkable in case of war. At least the carrier weapons will have to be left to it . . . When in the future we can close military gaps by divisions in an Atlantic strategic system—all the better. But no military contribution can be allowed to hush up the fact that security policy is atomic policy."

Ernst Majonica, the foreign policy spokesman of the CDU, expressed himself similarly on 20 August 1967 in the Springer paper *Welt am Sonntag*:

"An abolition of carrier weapons which can carry atomic war heads would be the greatest of the conceivable reductions in the defence power of the Bundeswehr. . . We do not want a defence policy in the national framework because militarily it would be worthless. . . The abolition of such carrier weapons, however, would place us in an inferior position in the alliance and practically exclude us from any influence on the atomic strategy of the west."

This conception fully corresponds to the objective of the American global strategy to maintain NATO beyond 1969 and continue to arm militarily.

This became very clear in connection with the trip of the West German federal chancellor and his social democratic foreign minister to the USA in August 1967.

In the joint declaration the chiefs of the two governments express themselves in favour of continuing the policy of the arms race:

"We completely agree that a one-sided weakening of the western defence power is not suited to promote relaxation jointly sought by us. Both countries must maintain their defence efforts." (*Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the German Federal Government*, No. 88/67, 18 August 1967)

According to the agreements made in Washington Federal Chancellor Kiesinger declared in an interview transmitted by West German television on 17 August 1967:

" . . . that what happens here in the Federal Republic is anything but an intended weakening of the Bundeswehr."

Thus the West German head of government refutes the rumour which was launched in connection with the medium-term financial planning that the federal government cherishes the idea of making a constructive contribution to the solution of the financial crisis of the West German state and to relaxation by reducing the bloated military potential of West Germany.

Israeli Blitzkrieg Experiences Are Evaluated

The "integration of the GDR", that means the liquidation of socialism on German soil which is to be realized with military means, has always played a major role in the military political conception of the Federal Republic. The West German military leaders have noted with great

attention that with the Greek-Turkish tension over Cyprus the two NATO states when threatening military action, referred to a secret article in the NATO treaty which allows the partners of this treaty to withdraw their troops integrated in NATO from the NATO supreme command if "a national state of emergency is to be eliminated".

Non-recognition of the GDR is to create the very prerequisite for declaring the conquest of the GDR by means of a police action to be such an "internal national state of emergency" which would then permit the Federal Republic, too, to put its twelve divisions integrated in NATO under its own national command for such an action.

These plans of a military solo action, under the Kiesinger government and with knowledge and cooperation of the social democratic ministers, have moved from the stage of theoretical discussion into the stage of practical rehearsal.

Shortly after the Israeli aggression and after Springer's *Bildzeitung* on 14 June 1967, in the fascist intoxication with victory, had asked Federal Chancellor Kiesinger:

"What happens with 'our Arabs'—Ulbricht's People's Army or the Czechs or the Poles or all three of them?" the military political reflections of the federal government on the Israeli aggression were set forth in the periodical *Wehrkunde* (Military Science) which is close to the federal war ministry. Under the title "Near East Conflict and Defence of Europe" Wilhelm Meyer-Detring explained that the Israeli aggression was the model of a so-called deputy war. It states:

"Implementations of such 'deputy wars' (western version of the Israeli aggression deputizing a conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union) of a local extent are conceivable in Berlin, along parts of the demarcation-line secured by Germans and in North East Greece."

As the practical application of this statement it is said:

"The national, political and military leadership should also think over such possibilities (of a military solo action—editor) along with alliance models and automatic integration; strength of troops, organization, equipment and training must also be coordinated. A certain freedom to move from a joint defence plan based on a political war picture no longer accepted should be striven for with all care and under mutual consultation for such limited special cases..."

The compressed expression of these reflections is the secret plan "C" which was submitted for assessment to the Johnson government by Kiesinger and Brandt in August 1967. The chief

contents of the secret plan can be reproduced as follows:

1) No reduction at all of the numerical strength of the troops of the Bundeswehr with the simultaneous ability of the Bundeswehr to establish more units capable of fighting in case of war within the shortest period of time.

2) Modernization and increase of the atomic carrier devices in the Bundeswehr and further raising of the mobility and fire power of conventional weapons.

3) No reduction of the Bundeswehr share in the state budget, but a further raising of the armament burdens.

The military political conception of the present West German government and especially the conceptions contained in the secret plan "C" on how the Bundeswehr can be equipped still more strongly in the shortest time for the waging of a limited war of aggression naturally impose new and still greater financial sacrifices on the West German population.

CSU Bundestag Deputy Zimmermann, chairman of the so-called defence committee of the West German Bundestag, referred in an article in the Springer newspaper *Welt am Sonntag* of 10 September 1967 to the planned increase of armament expenditures in excess of the estimates of the medium-term financial planning, stating:

"In this connection the public discussion of the last weeks is dominated by an alleged change in the conception of the Bundeswehr and a drastic reduction of the German armed forces. But in reality the Defence Ministry has available a total of 96,130 million marks in the next five years according to the medium-term financial planning, that is some ten per cent more than was available in the last five years.

Hermelin II Practical Aggression Exercise

Meanwhile the Bundeswehr has already changed over to drawing practical conclusions from the Israeli attack on the Arab states for its own policy of aggression.

At the beginning of October 1967 it carried out the biggest aggressive Bundeswehr exercise up to now in Lower Saxony directly on the GDR state frontier. In the Hermelin II manoeuvre which was named after the marten-like beast of prey ermine, new variants of aggression were tested by 36,000 soldiers with more than 11,000 wheeled vehicles and tanks. Tactical conclusions drawn by the leading staffs of the West German

army from the Israeli war of aggression were primarily tested in the exercise.

The various exercise elements made it obvious that these large unit exercises were not at all a routine manoeuvre. Strong tank units met in combat—analogous to the Israeli actions of aggression—supported by massive forces of the air force. Hereby the Leopard tank type which was newly developed and produced in West Germany itself, was often used in action.

But that is not the only way in which this manoeuvre gives information on Bonn's true intentions. During this Hermelin II exercise the application of tactical atomic weapons and nuclear destructive ammunition was simulated in several phases, whereby it again became clear that in preventing the atomic non-proliferation treaty Bonn is chiefly interested in asserting its claim to full control over the use of atomic weapons and explosives.

Kiesinger, Brandt and Schröder Imitate the Fascist Policy of Armament and War

All present efforts of the Bonn government to paralyze the activity of the 18-state Disarmament Committee established by the UN and stifle it in the interest of its atomic armament and its big power plans find their historical parallel in the policy of the Hitler government which frustrated the conclusion of disarmament agreements in the 1930's in order to be undisturbed and unhindered in pushing on the armament of the fascist state and the preparation of the planned annexations.

For this purpose the nazi government made use of the demagogic slogan of the "equality of rights". Thus, for example, Hitler declared in his Reichstag speech on 23 March 1933:

"The Reich government will support all efforts aimed at effectively serving general disarmament and at securing the long overdue claim of Germany to equality of rights." (*Dokumente der Deutschen Politik*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1937, p. 44)

The aim of this demand for "equality of rights" was and is freedom for German imperialism to arm.

The opponents of an atomic weapon non-proliferation treaty in West Germany today use the same arguments as Hitler Germany did.

Strauss wrote in his *Entwurf für Europa*:

"At any rate the question of atomic defence and atomic equality of rights is the general 'focal question' for the future of the alliance . . . I think that there is only one solution in the long run . . . which brings the Federal Republic real equality

of rights with comparable partners, namely, a European atomic weapon potential . . ." (Strauss, *Entwurf für Europa*, pp. 104–106)

On 14 October 1933 the nazi government recalled its delegation from Geneva, thus bringing to nought effective disarmament measures in close cooperation with Japan and fascist Italy. Looking back, Hitler declared before the Reichstag:

"We once withdrew from the League of Nations because it refused to grant us the right to equal armament."

(Schulthess, *European Historical Calendar*, 1934, p. 37)

Already in 1934 the "disarmament specialist" in the Foreign Office, Schwendemann, admitted:

"The aim which was pursued by German policy was clear and unambiguous: removal of the one-sided disarmament of Germany, equality of armament between Germany and its neighbours. . . and thus the restoration of the factual big power position. . . ." (Schwendemann, *Gleiches Recht und gleiche Sicherheit* (Equal Right and Equal Security), Berlin, 1934, p. 98)

With the same argument NATO Ambassador Grewe today justifies the striving of West Germany for nuclear weapons:

"Nations without nuclear weapons of their own will scarcely be in a position in the future to play the role of a 'big power'." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 14 February 1967)

These examples show the agreement of the policy of the ruling circles of West Germany with the Hitler fascists.

On Intimate Terms with Aggressors and Dictators

In order to gain maximum international support for their aggressive aims and for their atomic weapon plans and in order to utilize every possibility to participate in the production of atomic weapons even outside the sphere of NATO the Kiesinger/Strauss government is closely allied with aggressors and dictators all over the world. The most reactionary governments, the ones most hated by the people, are the best friends of the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

On the Side of US Aggression against Vietnam

Federal Chancellor Kiesinger already declared in his government statement that he consid-

ers further participation in the American aggression in Vietnam to be a personal responsibility. The United States can expect "understanding and support from its allies (for the Vietnam war—editor)" and Kiesinger gave the assurance that the Federal Republic intends "to take a more significant degree of co-responsibility than before". (*Die Welt*, 13 December 1966)

The social democratic ministers, too, have placed themselves fully on the side of the US aggressors. At the congress of the "Socialist International" in May 1967 in Stockholm Foreign Minister and Social Democratic Party Chairman Willy Brandt was the only person who supported the US dirty war in Vietnam and even lobbied the delegates to gain "sympathy" for the atrocious US crimes against the Vietnamese people. (AP, 5 May 1967)

And at a conference in Washington in May 1967 another social democratic minister, Georg Leber, stated:

"Whoever in Germany criticizes the American engagement in Vietnam . . ., ought to know that he is therewith supporting those forces in the USA who, if it should be necessary, will also oppose American engagement in Berlin or Germany or Europe tomorrow." (UPI, 10 May 1967)

With such massive moral support by the whole Kiesinger government it is understandable that the American news agency UPI could have reported from Washington "that American government officials have expressed satisfaction with the stand taken by the federal government on the Vietnam conflict". (UPI, 25 August 1967)

But, of course, the support for the US crimes in Vietnam by the federal government affects not only the moral sphere. This support embraces all fields of financial and military help, up to the use of West German citizens as mercenaries in the American army of aggression and—as recent reports prove—even up to direct military operations of the Bundeswehr in Vietnam.

Thus on 2 October 1967 the West German news agency DPA announced that in 1968, too, the federal government would provide the same contributions as "Aid for South Vietnam" as in 1967, in spite of its own financial crisis.

However, under the Kiesinger/Strauss government active support of the US aggression has experienced a very dangerous escalation for the Federal Republic. After the delivery of material which supports the direct fighting of the aggressor, such as providing the two salvage ships "Energie" and "Ausdauer", the Kiesinger government and its Bundeswehr generals have now gone over to direct military participation in the aggression.

As the *Berliner Extradienst* of 14 October 1967 published under the headline "Bomber pilots of the Bundeswehr exercise in South Vietnam—helicopters also in operation", helicopters of Bell UH-1 D type of the federal air force should arrive this year in Vietnam with the corresponding flying personnel. The initiative was taken by the German military attaché in Saigon, Sagner. This operation was justified by the statement: "With the present provision of two helicopter transport squadrons of the federal air force, for which well-trained staff will be required . . ., (West) German pilots are mainly to become acquainted with the system and mode of functioning of the American supply installations situated behind the lines and to participate themselves in the actions of US troops fighting in Vietnam."

Just as Hitler allowed his troops of aggression to gather "experience" for the Second World War during the Spanish Civil War, the time seems to have arrived under the Kiesinger/Strauss government when a federal German "Condor Legion" will be used in Vietnam with the same aims.

Hands in Glove with the Israeli Blitzkrieg-Warriors

The common task in American global strategy of being the spearhead of world imperialism in Europe and the Near East has made the West German and Israeli governments the best of allies for some time now.

Under the pretext of an alleged "reparation" West Germany has given the Israeli aggressors every conceivable political, financial, economic and military assistance for 15 years. This policy of support for Israeli imperialism begun already under Adenauer, was intensified under Erhard and has now entered an even more dangerous and new phase under the grand coalition.

This dangerous phase is mainly expressed by the fact that the Kiesinger/Strauss government is pushing ahead the joint production of atomic weapons in Israel which was started under Adenauer and Erhard. This joint atomic weapon production is carried out mainly due to the extensive West German support of the Chaim Weizmann Institute in which research and development on ABC weapons are concentrated. It is at present the centre of Israeli and West German atomic research with about 20 institute buildings and the necessary living quarters. The main financial supporters are the Fritz Thyssen Foundation and the Volkswagen Foundation which

provide this institute in Rohovoth with impressive sums.

During the recent visit of former Federal Chancellor Ludwig Erhard to Israel in November 1967, he demonstratively visited the Chaim Weizmann Institute, which conferred the title of honorary member on this representative of West German imperialism and revanchism for his aid to the joint centre of atomic research. On this occasion West German television announced that more than 70 West German atomic scientists are employed in the Chaim Weizmann Institute alone—in addition to another four hundred armament experts from the Federal Republic who are also working in Israel.

In order to speed up the production of atomic weapons close interconnection with Max Planck Institutes of different fields, among others, the Max Planck Institute of Nuclear Physics in Heidelberg was effected. The director of the Institute, Professor Gentner, is at the same time chairman of the German-Israeli "steering committee" which works out long-term research programs, co-ordinates and controls the activities.

For purposes of camouflage, these research agreements which are of high military significance are not concluded at government level but by the "Minerva", an affiliate of the Max Planck Society for the Promotion of Foreign Institutes.

The *New York Times* reported on 15 March 1965 that the relatively large reactor of Dimona (30 kilometres southeast of Bersheba in the Negev desert) could be used for the production of plutonium for atomic weapons. The *Welt* of 3 June 1967 stated that Israel can:

"build ballistic missiles with atomic warheads in the relatively short period of five to ten years".

In addition it is characteristic that the patron of this Chaim Weizmann Institute, the Thyssen representative Dr. Kurt Birrenbach, was once a notorious SA tough during the pogroms against the Jews. He was a member of the NSDAP from 22 March 1933 and a member of SA Brigade 32 from 8 May 1933, in which he "distinguished" himself especially by plundering Jewish business places at Hausvogteiplatz in Berlin-Mitte. The chief of SA-Sturm II/2, Gröger, stated that Birrenbach "participated regularly in raids against the Jews and performed his tasks well". (*Forum*, No. 2, August 1967)

No one need wonder at the fact that former anti-Semites and SA toughs today have made a 180-degree turn and are applauding Israel and its aggressions. Today as in the Nazi period it is not a question of race, but class interests which determines their attitude.

Kiesinger Government—Atomic Partner of the Racists in South Africa

Whereas the majority of the United Nations General Assembly condemned the racist regime in South Africa the Kiesinger government has become one of the most important partners of the racist regime in Pretoria. Whereas this alliance was camouflaged in the early stages in consideration of Bonn's imperialist rivals and the independent African states, the rulers of both countries feel they are now strong enough to attempt an open policy of expansion in Africa, too.

For this reason one of the first statesmen to visit the new Kiesinger/Strauss government in Bonn was the economics minister of the Republic of South Africa, Dr. N. Diederichs, one of the oldest and most reliable links of German monopoly capital and an important agent of the German fascists.

The question of joint atomic research and atomic weapon production is also of special significance for Bonn in its cooperation with the white racists in Pretoria—as in Israel. Thus two months after the visit of Diederichs to Bonn Federal Minister of the Interior Lücke and the late Alfried Krupp visited South Africa. The official organ of the information department of the government of South Africa reported as follows about this visit:

"Paul Lücke, West Germany's Minister of the Interior, who made a trip to South Africa as a guest of the government, visited Pelindaba (the centre of South African atomic research—editor) in order to see what progress was being made in atomic research. The close cooperation between West Germany and South Africa in the peaceful use of atomic energy has increased continuously in recent years. South African atomic scientists and technicians were and are trained at the research institutions in West Germany, while others often visit such institutes during trips abroad." (*South African Digest*, Pretoria, 23 March 1967)

On 10 April 1967, AP announced that the director in charge of atomic affairs at the Siemens concern, Professor Heinz Goeschel, who is at the same time a member of the West German Atomic Commission and a member of the presidium of the Atomic Forum of West German Industry, was in Pretoria at the beginning of 1967 and negotiated both on the further cooperation between West Germany and South Africa in the atomic field and on the regular purchase of South African uranium for the atomic power station in Obrigheim on the

Neckar, in the construction of which the Siemens trust was considerably involved.

In view of this development the official government *South African Digest* thanked the Kiesinger/Strauss government on 23 March 1967 for the "increasingly close cooperation" and in particular "for the training of South African atomic scientists and atomic technicians in West Germany".

Close Cooperation of the Kiesinger Government with Franco and Salazar

The two fascist dictators on the Iberian peninsula—the Franco regime in Spain and the Salazar regime in Portugal—have long enjoyed an especially close cooperation with Bonn. Since the beginning of the grand coalition there have been regular visits of ministers from Bonn to Madrid and Lisbon. This economic and military cooperation was especially intensified by Bonn after de Gaulle began to withdraw his forces from NATO. Thus the Bundeswehr built military, and in particular, air force bases both in Spain and Portugal.

The largest of these Bonn military bases is the Beja Air Force Base in Portugal (named Prussian Beja by the Bonn military in memory of Prussian Eylau), for the extension of which the federal government has already paid 799 million escudos to the Salazar regime.

Whereas Bonn officially states that the reason for setting up air force bases in Portugal is the "inadequacy of the training space for modern jet fighters in West Germany", it was stated in confidential talks in Bonn that it would perhaps be very useful for the stubborn de Gaulle to know that (West) German troops are also stationed behind the Pyrenees, that is, in his rear.

In return for making these military bases available the Kiesinger government supports the blood-soaked campaign of oppression of the Salazar regime against the African liberation movement in Angola and Mozambique by supplying weapons and instructors.

The deliveries of West German weapons range from automatic guns to F 86 Sabre jet planes. In 1963 the Bonn government began to send a greater amount of military instructors to Angola for the almost 70,000-man colonial army, which Angolan patriots have opposed in a hard liberation struggle for six years. The Krupp trust whose chief visited Angola personally in 1965 to make inspections on the spot, has extended the mines of Cassanga with equipment worth almost 60 million dollars and receives in return 1.5 million

tons of iron ore annually. In 1966 the Krupp trust began to create its own mercenary army in Angola. This military and economic support of the bloody colonial terror was intensified by the Kiesinger/Strauss government.

Thus the French news agency *AFP* announced on 26 January 1967 that West Germany had delivered 40 jet fighters of the FIAT G-91 type for Salazar's campaign of aggression against Angola.

On 10 November 1967 the Trusteeship Commission of the United Nations adopted a resolution with 80 votes which accused Salazar's regime of crimes against humanity and called on Portugal's NATO partners to stop their military support. This was preceded by a general debate in which numerous speakers most sharply condemned not only the Salazar colonial fascists, but also their NATO accomplices—especially West Germany. Vice-President Timoteo Simanga of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) proved that of all states Bonn was investing the most capital in the Portuguese colonies.

It is understandable that a Bonn regime which is represented by a president and governed by a federal chancellor who were both guilty of collaboration in crimes against humanity and peace committed by the Hitler regime, finds nothing wrong with parading arm in arm with the Salazar regime, which has once more been accused of crimes against humanity by an organ of the United Nations.

The difference and character of the two German states was expressed by the fact that in the same United Nations debate in which the Salazar regime and the Kiesinger government were condemned, the representatives of the liberation movements praised the solidarity of the GDR. In this debate Soviet UN delegate Platon Morosov also stated:

"The policy pursued by West Germany is in sharp contrast to the stand of the GDR, which has solemnly declared that it fully respects the UN decisions."

Support for the Monarcho-fascist Dictatorship in Greece

Whereas disgust and protest against the arch-reactionary monarcho-fascist military regime in Greece is increasingly spreading in all European countries, the Kiesinger government in Bonn, augmented by social democratic ministers, together with the Johnson government, has given the Athens military junta the greatest

support. This means supporting a dictatorial regime which not only persecutes communists and socialists with the most gruesome methods, but also tortures bourgeois democrats and liberals, or banishes them to the hell of the Yura concentration camp island.

Greece had already played an important part under the Hitler fascists as the south-east flank of their aggressive plans against the Soviet Union, and had already then been an important base in the plans of the German monopolists and militarists, on account of both its strategically important position and its mineral wealth, agriculture and industry.

As a member of NATO Greece is at present entrusted with a special military and strategic role both with regards to the socialist countries and the young nation-states in the Middle East. This is why the democratic government of Papandreu was considered to be "unreliable" and efforts had long been made to make Greece fascist. Already under Erhard's government the common interests of the ruling circles in the two countries had been extensively coordinated and this led to a cooperation which has been intensified by the Kiesinger/Strauss government in the interests of their expansionist policy.

What this "close cooperation" was like and what aims it had, became apparent after the military putsch in Greece on 21 April 1967 which was effected with the direct support of the Pentagon. Whereas democratic world public opinion opposed this putschist regime with indignation and protest the Kiesinger government proved to be its firmest supporter.

While the Banque de Reglements Internationaux in Basle stopped loans to the putschist clique in Athens during the first days after the putsch, which meant that the putschist government could have been forced to step down due to the difficult economic situation in Greece—Bonn's ambassador in Athens, Schlitter, hastily flew to Bonn and requested the federal government to exert its influence on this world bank in order that the blocking of loans could be immediately lifted. Due to Bonn's intervention this decisive source of finance for the putschist regime in Athens was again flowing in a very short time.

But Bonn not only opened the international money sources for the fascist regime in Athens, it also personally supported the economically weak generals in Athens by economic means. Whereas they were exceedingly cautious about loans to the democratic government of Papandreu and even unresponsive, the military regime

was immediately provided with lavish loans and supplied with important goods.

The Kiesinger government used the occasion of the monarcho-fascist putsch to further consolidate relations with Athens. Both emergency regimes have in the meantime entered into close alliance for the suppression of democratic forces.

Here are a few facts of this plot for the records:

21 April 1967 Putsch of the military camarilla

25 April 1967 The foreign minister of the putschist regime, Paul Economou Guros, attends Adenauer's funeral. The Foreign Office declares: This attendance can "be evaluated as the indirect recognition of the new Greek government by the Federal Republic".

28 April 1967 AP announces: The federal government has shown the fascist rulers that they are willing to work with them in the economic field.

5 May 1967 The West German ambassador in Athens, Schlitter, pays a demonstrative visit to the foreign minister of the putschist regime after his hurried trip to Bonn, (see above), which has been internationally assessed as a declaration of sympathy by Bonn. At the same time the representatives of the Thyssen trust offered the government of the generals a 50-million-mark loan.

9 May 1967 Informed sources in Bonn claim that the federal government will supply the military regime with very modern submarines.

24 May 1967 Bonn gives assurance that the financial aid of two hundred million marks based on a so-called "global agreement" is to be continued.

26 May 1967 Forty-four West German M 44 tanks are being unloaded near Saloniki, lighter and heavy military materials are to follow.

10 August 1967 The Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet provides a new loan of 25 million marks to Athens.

22 August 1967 Bonn's Foreign Office confirms that weapons valued at 40 million marks have been supplied for the army and police to Greece and Portugal in the last six months.

24 August 1967 The DGB organ *Welt der Arbeit* exposes the close emergency alliance between Bonn and Athens which is directed both against Greek citizens working in West Germany as well as against organization of the DGB. In accordance with this alliance Bonn has permitted the Greek fascists to set up a wide network of spy centres throughout West Germany to persecute Greek democrats.

26 August 1967 The Greek military regime is

carrying out the "Sun shine express" manoeuvre in Northern Greece, on the borders with Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The Bundeswehr is participating in this manoeuvre with a reinforced paratroop battalion.

13 October 1967 In the foreign policy debate of the West German Bundestag the government spokesman expressly refused to give in to the demands of broad sections of the West German people that the economic agreements concluded with the monarcho-fascist regime be revoked or at least suspended.

The Ribbentrop-Goebbels assistant Kiesinger and the social democrat and former anti-fascist Brandt today go arm in arm with a fascist murderer like Greek Minister of the Interior Patakos, of whom the world-famous actress Melina Mercouri, whose citizenship has been cancelled, stated: "He's a born fascist."

On this friendship of Kiesinger and Brandt with such emergency-law dictators as General Patakos one can only say: "Tell me who your friends are and I will tell you what your politics are."

The picture of this close cooperation with the aggressors and dictators who are despised and hated by the whole world characterizes and therefore at the same time discredits the Kiesinger-Strauss government and is completed by the fact that the Foreign Office, which is headed by the chairman of social democracy, Willy Brandt, employs in particular many incriminated nazi diplomats or other nazi experts as ambassadors of the Federal Republic in these countries.

It is naturally easy for these Hitler experts of aggression and expansion to work for the revanchist and chauvinist aims of German imperialism again and to maintain close friendship with dictators and aggressors.

The following nazi diplomats or nazi experts are active in the countries mentioned above:

Head of the West German embassy in Spain: **ALLARDT**, Dr. Helmut

before 1945: From April 1936 in the foreign office; from 1940 legation secretary in the nazi embassies in Copenhagen and Ankara (see Document No. 9)

The consul general in Barcelona:

NÜSSELEIN, Dr. Franz

before 1945: First public prosecutor in the nazi public prosecutor's office in Prague, guilty of the legal murder of Czechoslovak patriots; NSDAP from 1937 (No. A 628 997)

Head of the West German embassy in Greece: **SCHLITTER**, Dr. Oskar

before 1945: Legation counsellor, participated

in the preparation of the fascist attack on Denmark; afterwards member of staff of the political department of the foreign office (responsible among others for France, North Africa, Belgium); NSDAP from 1934 (see Document No. 10)

Head of the West German embassy in South Africa:

JUNKER, Dr. Werner

before 1945: In the foreign service from 1933; information chief of the national group China of the NSDAP foreign organization; head of the trade policy department of the foreign office, participated in the economic plundering of other European peoples; NSDAP from 1935 (see Document No. 11)

Head of the West German embassy in Israel: **PAULS**, Dr. Rolf

before 1945: Captain in the fascist Wehrmacht; bearer of the knight's cross

Deputy head of the embassy:

TÖRÖK, Dr. Alexander

before 1945: Convicted by Hungary for active pro-fascist and anti-Semitic activity; served in the Hungarian embassy in Berlin

Head of the West German embassy in South Vietnam:

KOPF, Dr. Wilhelm

before 1945: Press attaché in the nazi embassy in Ankara

Other diplomats who are employed in West German representations in Spain and South Africa are:

Becker, Dr. Horst Jürgen

today: Consul, first class, in the consulate general in Johannesburg

before 1945: From 1942 in the department of cultural policy of the Foreign Office

Burchardt, Dr. Otto

today: Embassy counsellor, first class, at the embassy in South Africa

before 1945: Officer in the fascist Wehrmacht

Goetz und Schwanenflies, Karl-Jörg von

today: Consul general in the consulate general in Johannesburg

before 1945: Nazi jurist; member of the SA from 1933

Hüfner, August

today: Chancellor in the consulate general in Barcelona

before 1945: Consular secretary in the political department, then in the code department of the Foreign Office

Pasche, Ernst

today: Chancellor of the consulate general in Cape Town

before 1945: Consular secretary in the consulate in Pretoria/South Africa; employed from No-

vember 1939 at the consulate in Lourenco Marques

Strusch, Friedrich

today: Consul, first class, in the consulate in Windhoek

before 1945: Consular secretary in the consulate general in New York and in the consulate in Montreal, employed in the Vatican embassy in Rome after the outbreak of the war

Lucius, Reinhardt von

today: Consul, first class, in the consulate general in Cape Town

before 1945: Assessor, business manager of the Deutsche Sprengchemie GmbH; member of the SA from 1933

countries through the changed 'terms of trade' alone."

Borba, Belgrad:

"African countries owe West Germany more than thirty thousand million dollars."

Development Aid in the Service of the Sole Representation Pretension

After SPD official, Wischniewski, took over the "ministry for economic cooperation" (Ministry of "Development Aid"), the federal government increasingly tried to link its development aid with political conditions, primarily of course, with the implementation of the Hallstein doctrine.

Already in December 1966, Wischniewski issued a confidential government directive by

Intensified Neo-colonialism

WORDS:

"Since the end of the last war many new states have come into existence in Asia and Africa which now struggle for internal order and for their economic consolidation . . . Our policy, in which we are aware of our responsibility for a just and durable peace in the world, must support these peoples in the construction of their economic and state life to the best of its ability within the framework of their opportunities." (From Kiesinger's government declaration of 13 December 1966)

FACTS:

Confidential Bonn government directive of December 1966:

"No development aid to countries which recognize the GDR."

Minister Wischniewski in the Bundestag on 11 October 1967:

"Our aid is strictly linked with projects connected with subsequent control of use."

Frankfurter Rundschau on 10 January 1967:
"Wischniewski for capital aid with conditions—90 per cent of the capital aid must flow back in the form of orders for West German firms."

Financial Times:

"West Germany makes an annual profit of five thousand million marks from the developing

order of the West German government in which guiding principles were given for the maintenance of the Hallstein doctrine with regard to the Afro-Asian and Latin American states. It directed that the Federal Republic must contribute in its "development aid" policy to preventing these countries from diplomatically recognizing of the GDR. This directive contains the following regulation:

The Federal Republic grants development aid only within the framework of government agreements. A "good behaviour clause" which is contained in every government agreement, obligates the recipient country to friendly relations with the Federal Republic.

If a developing country does not recognize the sole representation pretension of the Bonn state, this means a breach of the friendly rela-

tions which annuls the government agreement and entitles the Bonn government to stop the development aid. (see *Grey Book*, Berlin, 1967, page 43)

The *Stuttgarter Zeitung* unmasked the character of the development aid by writing unmistakably:

"Development aid is today an instrument of policy. The Afro-Asian countries must be told with all due determination that those primarily get our money, who are politically loyal towards us, respect our policy and respect normal interstate custom." (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Stuttgart, 23 March 1967)

A news report of the Springer newspaper *Die Welt* revealed how the Kiesinger/Strauss government manipulates "development aid" as a means of threat and extortion:

"The federal government has informed the Arab states through all available diplomatic channels that diplomatic recognition of the 'GDR' would inevitably entail serious consequences, primarily of an economic kind, for the Arab countries." (*Die Welt*, Hamburg, 2 August 1967)

The political pressure referred to above took place quite intentionally at a moment when the Arab foreign ministers were meeting in a conference in Khartoum.

In his declaration before the Bundestag, Wischnewski also repeatedly underlined the great importance of "development aid" as a means of West German foreign policy:

"In the field of foreign policy, the federal government is especially interested in strengthening the positive basic attitude of the governments and peoples of the Third World towards us." (Minutes of the Bundestag, Bonn, 11 October 1967)

Wischnewski primarily wants to attain a greater effectiveness of the Bonn "development aid" with regard to political and also economic results through the "formation of focal points" and "aid" to *suitable* countries.

"We therefore strive for a policy of worldwide cooperation with clear focal points in a few suitable countries . . ." (*ibidem*)

In this connection the Kiesinger/Strauss government developed intensified propaganda activity with the assistance of Wischnewski and Brandt in those nation-states which are bound to Bonn through "development aid". In the already quoted speech before the Bundestag, Wischnewski declared:

"The public work in the developing countries aims at representing our development aid so that it becomes politically effective . . ." (*ibidem*)

Despite the strained budget situation, the federal government effected "an essential increase of means" for this propaganda which is to be carried through more intensively. (*ibid.*)

On the diplomatic level, Brandt and Wischnewski also developed feverish activity to implement the Bonn policy of extortion and interference. Thus, for example, State Secretary Lahr of the Foreign Office, and the West German representation in Cambodia, tried by threatening economic and political sanctions to prevent the transformation of the general consulate of the GDR into a representation.

At a press conference in Phnom Penh, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, head of state of the kingdom of Cambodia, referred to a memorandum from the West German Federal Republic in which Cambodia's consent to changing the general consulate into a representation is called an unfriendly act. (Cf. *Réalités Cambodgiennes*, 28 July 1967)

In Kenya, Ambassador von Schweinitz of the West German Federal Republic declared—according to DPA of 14 August 1967—that his government still continues to consider it an unfriendly act when any government establishes diplomatic relations with the GDR.

The West German embassy in Brazil also increasingly interferes in the external trade relations between the GDR and Brazil. Thus, at the beginning of March 1967 the West German ambassador on Brandt's instruction, protested to the official Brazilian bodies against the conclusion of a treaty between the DIA Maschinenexport of the GDR and the Brazilian port administration.

At the beginning of August 1967, the West German ambassador in Malaysia made a blackmailing advance in the foreign ministry there in order to establish the government of Malaysia on the doctrines of the Bonn policy.

In this, the Kiesinger government intensified a policy which was characterized by Dr. Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, in connection with Bonn's attacks on the occasion of the establishment of the GDR general consulate in the capital of Tanzania as follows:

"When diplomatic pressure could not change Tanzania's attitude assumed in the interest of the Union, the West German government, unilaterally and without warning broke off a five-year agreement on training and aid for the new aviation enterprise and withdrew all technicians overnight. It went still further and threatened to cease its entire assistance if we should continue our announced policy." (*The Standard*, 11 June 1966)

New Sources of Profit for West German Monopolies

Wischnewski and his two social democratic colleagues, Brandt and Schiller, tried more strongly and purposefully than was the case under the Adenauer and Erhard governments, to put Bonn "development aid" directly into the service of the West German monopolies for the economic plundering of the young nation-states. In doing so several methods are applied.

An increasingly practised form of exploitation of "developing" countries is the non-equivalent trade between West Germany and these states.

It can be concluded from a report of the *Financial Times* that the West German monopolies, on the basis of the "terms of trade" with the "developing countries" which steadily change in favour of West Germany, realized an approximate annual profit of 5 thousand million marks "without their doing anything for it, chiefly at the expense of raw material countries such as India". (Cf. *Financial Times*, London, 21 June 1965)

The volume of this non-equivalent trade further increased under the Kiesinger/Strauss government. Wischnewski referred to this in the Bundestag on 11 October 1967:

"Our trade with the developing countries shows an agreeable trend which promises much for the future." (Minutes of the Bundestag, Bonn, 11 October 1967)

In this connection, Wischnewski announced that West German deliveries to the developing countries increased by 41 per cent in the last four years. This is in contrast to an increase of imports from the same countries of only 34 per cent.

Wischnewski sees as an essential task the creation of new markets for the West German monopolists. He declared in the Bundestag:

"Undoubtedly our decisive market reserves of the future are in those countries which are on the threshold to the industrial age... The development policy has an extraordinarily important task exactly here also for us. It has been shown that it often paved the way for the (West) German economy. Carefully selected capital aid projects have in many cases laid the cornerstone for growing business relations and thus done pioneering work for German industry..." (ibid.)

Wischnewski distinctly puts the accent on "market reserves of the future". The Kiesinger/Strauss government and especially Wischnewski himself want to use all means to influence the economic and state development of the nation-

states in order to secure the "markets of the future" for the West German monopolies.

"This means careful selection and advance examination of the projects and strict connection of our aid projects with *subsequent controls of their use*. Preliminary examination of the projects, project binding and control of their use must in no case be omitted." (ibid.)

However, Wischnewski wants to further intensify these encroachments upon the economic development of the young states and announced:

"... We shall be forced in the future particularly to extend the control of the use a little more..." (ibid.)

He intends to secure the West German monopolies more profitable investment chances and markets not only in the long term. In his opinion, "development aid" must also guarantee short-term profits for the monopolists. This applies especially to times of economic crises in which the social democratic minister wants to protect big capital from a profit depreciation at the expense of the working people of the "developing countries".

Wischnewski declared that under his direction, Bonn "development aid" proved to be a "stabilizing factor in times of stagnating growth". (ibid.)

The *Frankfurter Rundschau* had already attested to his devoted striving to satisfy the profit greed of West German big industry on 10 January 1967, in an article with the heading "Developing countries should buy in (West) Germany—Wischnewski for capital aid with conditions".

The newspaper wrote:

"(West) German economy will get more out of Bonn's development aid policy in the future." The "new federal minister for economic cooperation, Wischnewski, (wants) to achieve a situation where in the future at least 90 per cent of the capital aid given to developing countries flows back in the form of orders for (West) German firms."

The result of this kind of "aid", along with the lasting attempts of political and economic extortion, is primarily the considerable indebtedness of the young nation-states to West Germany.

Thus, the Belgrade newspaper *Borba* reported that at present the African countries are more than 30 thousand million dollars in debt to West Germany. (Cf. *Neues Deutschland*, Berlin, 9 March 1967)

Through this high debt, financial chains are to be put on the young nation-states similar to

those with which West German big capital has tried to bring its own working class into financial dependence through generous credits and hire-purchasing in order to make it politically docile or silent.

The collaboration with the South Korean puppet regime which has followed a similar policy of national treachery and division of the country with the support of the USA, is increasingly used by the Kiesinger/Strauss government for the exploitation and plundering of these "allied" countries and their populations.

The state visit of the West German president and concentration camp builder, Lübke, in March 1967, particularly served this goal. This visit, which politically served the reevaluation of the Pak regime, had the pre-eminent task of extending the profit opportunities of the West German monopolies in South Korea. In this reference, the joint communiqué states: "... he also took notice of the excellent chances and opportunities which Korea offers for private investments and welcomed all measures suited to encourage (West) German industry to invest in this country..." (*Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government*, 8 March 1967, No. 25, page 199 of the German edition)

Lübke called on the "German Community" in Seoul to see to it that West German investment means in South Korea are invested and used profitably:

"My fellow countrymen, through your proficiency you may greatly contribute to the greatest use being made of the economic and financial aid of the Federal Republic. We have clearly stated during visits to a few factories and other economic enterprises, that the initiative of entrepreneurs and associates has achieved great importance. It is no longer a question of the investment of capital alone, it is also a question of increasing labour productivity through rational methods. In view of the strained budget situation and the resulting limited possibilities for development aid, your personal involvement is of the greatest moment." (*Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government*, 12 April 1967, No. 37, page 304 of the German edition)

Apart from the fact that the budget position mentioned above is a consequence of the Bonn armament race, Lübke's speech of 5 March 1967 clearly indicates that West German capital investment in South Korea should mainly serve the purpose of bringing in profits by more intensive exploitation of the South Korean wage earners. The instructions which the West Ger-

man president gave to the West German economic experts, technicians and businessmen in South Korea for improving the organization of production and exploitation strongly bring to mind his activity in fascist Germany where he had gathered experience as a builder of concentration camps and in the unscrupulous utilization of foreign labour power, especially of concentration camp prisoners, foreign workers and prisoners of war for the fascist armament production.

An analysis of the personnel of those West German establishments which are especially involved in economic relations with so-called developing countries shows that numerous key positions are held by former nazi experts.

The full-time employed officials, the head of the department of trade policy in the Foreign Office, Dr. Günther Harkort, and the ministerial director in the Ministry of "Economic Cooperation", Adolf Sonnenhol, (see pages 16 and 53) belong to that category of nazi experts who have gathered experience in plundering while working in central offices in the fascist state apparatus. Under their leadership the following nazi experts among others are responsible for the execution of the new colonialist policy of West German imperialism:

Seeliger, Wolfgang

today: Head of department III B 7 (Economic Relations with South and East Asia) in the Foreign Office

before 1945: Government counsellor und expert in the Reich Economics Ministry; Member of the NSDAP and the SA from 1933

Heyden, Wilhelm Günther von

today: Head of department III B 2 ("Technical Aid") in the Foreign Office

before 1945: Employee in the Foreign Office from 1935; up to 1943 in the embassies in Copenhagen and Cairo, as well as in the consulate in Cleveland, then legation secretary in the Foreign Office; NSDAP from 1934

Marwede, Werner

today: Government director and head of department II A/3 (Advisory Council for Development Policy, Information and Cooperation with Industry) in the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation

before 1945: Senior government counsellor in the Reich Economics Ministry; in 1941 especially responsible for the "employment of personnel" in the occupied territories of the East and the financing of the German minority fifth columnist groups

Kley, Dr. Gisbert

today: President of the group of experts for overseas development questions in the Economic and Social Commission of the EEC

before 1945: Senior government counsellor and ministerial counsellor; personal consultant to the "Reich minister of nutrition and agriculture and the Reich peasant leader"; from 1933 member of the SS

Toepfer, Dr. Bruno

today: Ministerial director and head of subsection VB, National group 1 (Foreign Economic Affairs and Development Aid) in the Federal Ministry of Economics

before 1945: Senior government counsellor and expert in the Reich Economics Ministry; in 1943 in the Reich Ministry of Armaments and War Production; from 1944 head of the managerial group in the planning office

Kiesinger's Nazi Accomplices in Leading Posts

In the attempt to make after all a success of Hitler's frustrated policy of a "new order in Europe" in favour of German imperialism with the aid of social democratic ministers and more skilful methods Kiesinger also launched his accomplices from the Radio Policy Department of Ribbentrop's Foreign Office into leading positions of the Bonn state.

Kiesinger, who had been deputy head of this department since 1943, has appointed one of his closest associates of that time, Günther Diehl to the post of head of the press and information office of the federal government in November. Previously Diehl was head of the planning staff in the Foreign Office and in this office had a considerable share in working out the "new eastern policy".

By Diehl's appointment to head of the press office not only a nazi expert on psychological warfare and expert in particularly criminal subversive propaganda becomes the chief of this state centre for the manipulation of opinions. Kiesinger at the same time also links this with far-reaching personal ambitions, since with Diehl's appointment he makes sure of a propagandist who is loyal to him, and at the same time has a control over Konrad Ahlers, the second spokesman of the government, launched by the SPD.

Already before the outbreak of the Second World War Diehl was an official in the Radio

Policy Department (at that time Kult R) of the Ribbentrop ministry. In December 1939 he became liaison man of the Foreign Office with the "Bureau Concordia" in the Propaganda Ministry. Together with Abetz, who later was ambassador in occupied France, Diehl was responsible for the criminal subversive propaganda against France conducted by so-called black or secret radio stations. In November 1940 he worked as an agent of department Kult R of the Foreign Office in the "Brussels centre" and after that up to March 1943 as radio official of the nazi Paris embassy in the Vichy branch. There he was responsible for the instruction and control of all radio propaganda in occupied France. After that he worked temporarily in the press department of the Foreign Office and finally in the office of embassy counsellor Struve, who had to look after the French fascists around Doriot. (See Document Nos. 12/13/14)

Other Kiesinger Accomplices from the Radio Policy Department in West Germany

Schirmer, Dr. Hans

today: Head of department IV (Foreign Propaganda) in the Press and Information Office of the federal government.

before 1945: Up to 1943 deputy head of the Radio Policy Department of the Foreign Office—Kiesinger's superior who replaced him in the management of the department; SS Obersturmführer in the security service. (See Document Nos. 16/17)

Lilienfeld, Dr. Georg von

today: Deputy of the West German ambassador in the USA, envoy.

before 1945: Head of section Ru IX (USA) in the Radio Policy Department of the Foreign Office; member of the "North America Committee" for directing radio propaganda against the USA.

After Italy left the axis alliance with nazi Germany and after the occupation by the nazi Wehrmacht, the SS officer (Untersturmführer) von Lilienfeld was appointed head of the radio section with the "Commissioner of the Greater German Reich in Italy". (See Document Nos. 18/19)

Ferring, Franz

today: West German ambassador in South Korea

before 1945: Head of the section East Asia in the Radio Policy Department of the Foreign Office. (See Document No. 15)

Wickert, Erwin

today: Head of the section "Political and Basic Socio-economic Questions of the East Bloc" in the Foreign Office

before 1945: Up to 1940 member of the staff in the radio section of the Cultural Policy Department of the Foreign Office; head of the radio department of the nazi embassy in China; radio attaché in the nazi embassy in Tokyo, (See Document No. 23)

Jakob, Dr. Erich

today: Consul in the West German consulate general in Osaka-Kobe

before 1945: Member of the staff of the section "Far East" in the Political Department of the Foreign Office

Sonnenhol, Dr. Gustav A.

today: Ministerial director and head of department I (Basic Questions of "Development Policy") in the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation

before 1945: Head of the radio section of the nazi embassy in Paris; head of group Inland II B of the Foreign Office, (among others, contacts with the Reich Security Main Office and Himmler, persecuted German anti-fascists abroad), participated in the kidnapping of a German diplomat who wanted to go into exile. (See Document Nos. 20/21)

Munzel, Oskar

today: Leading member of staff in the Foreign Office; up to the severing of diplomatic relations West German ambassador in Lebanon

before 1945: Head of the section "Near East" in the Radio Policy Department of the Foreign Office, at the same time member of the Grobba special staff which was to prepare military actions in the Near East

Seeberg, Axel

today: Member of the managing committee of the work circle for East-West questions in the Foreign Office and editor-in-chief of the *Sonntagsblatt*

before 1945: Lecturer at the College of Politics; member of staff of the German Foreign Scientific Institute (DAW), headed by SS brigade leader Six, together with K. H. Pfeffer (today at the University of Münster); head of the Europe Committee of that institute; along with his work in DAW, member of staff in the "England Committee" of the Radio Policy Department and the Department of Information of the Foreign Office. (See Document No. 22)

Growing Nationalism and Chauvinism

Immediately after the establishment of the grand coalition and the appointment of nazi propagandist Kiesinger as federal chancellor an extensive campaign began in the Federal Republic designed to justify the fascist past and nazi ideology. Neonazism, nationalism and chauvinism grew in its wake.

Springer's *Welt* gave the starting signal for it with an editorial on 11 November 1966, in which all objections to Kiesinger's candidature for the chancellor's post were rejected:

"Twenty-one years after the end of the war there are borders which nobody can cross any longer, if he does not wish to be in strict opposition to the German people. The Kiesinger case is such a border."

On 16 November 1966 Strauss sharpened this statement and demanded in his Upper Bavarian electoral district of Weilheim that at long last one should stop "throwing mud at the Federal Republic and rummaging around in cupboards".

The effects were quick in coming. In a state in which one of Hitler's concentration camp builders can be president and a Goebbels propagandist federal chancellor, the overcoming of the past has been strictly blocked. The spreading and justification of nazi and chauvinist ideas now were included still more intensively in the aggravated expansionist policy of the grand coalition.

Thus, for months a broad campaign has been directed with all mass media at an explanation justifying the nazi ideology and its leaders. War criminal von Schirach is working on the task of supplying an "impartial story of Hitler", who was "fascinating" (*Stern* series, "I believed in Hitler"). The wife of chief war criminal Göring is also allowed to glorify the evil deeds of her husband (*Quick* series: "My Life with Hermann Göring"), and the love story of Hitler and Eva Braun is sentimentally warmed up. Springer's *Bild* prominently publishes a farewell letter by nazi propaganda chief Goebbels. The SS organization which had been declared criminal is being made decent again (*Spiegel* series: "The Order under the Death Head"), and on television the historical truth about the Reichstag fire is falsified. The *Deutsche Nationalzeitung und Soldatenzeitung* is allowed to publish large advertisements for the purchase of records with speeches by Hitler, Göring and Goebbels as well as nazi songs which appear in big editions.

In Munich, formerly the "capital of the movement", the "National Film GmbH" was founded which plans the production of feature films about the Waffen SS and the combating of partisans in order "to influence the thinking of the German people in the sense of soldierly concepts".

Even in the USA—with the support of the federal government—a so-called anti-slander committee was formed in Chicago on 14 November 1967 which in future is to prevent American television transmissions on war criminals who are again active in West Germany.

In the first year of the grand coalition Paul Carell's "Verbrannte Erde" (Scorched Earth) and Fernau's "Disteln für Hagen" (Thistles for Hagen) were best sellers in the book market. Carell, who was the head of the press department in Ribbentrop's Foreign Office, praises the crimes of the fascist Wehrmacht in the eastern campaign and former SS war reporter Fernau praises Hitler as the "last hybrid valiant warrior of the Germans". All of Hitler's speeches appeared in four volumes and in the new Bavarian history book the crimes of the nazis are not only belittled but a new chapter has been included "Acts of Revenge on Germans after 1945". (*Der Spiegel*, No. 20/67)

The song book of the Bundeswehr, of which 800,000 copies have been distributed up to now, contains, along with older tunes ("I want to fight the enemy in the wide fields", "Flames, Rise High" and others) also a large number of songs of the Hitler Youth. The official of the fascist Reich youth leadership, Hans Baumann, author of the notorious song "The Brittle Bones Are Trembling", is represented with six songs. The preface of this song book, written by Franz Josef Strauss, states that the "spirit and the attitude of the troops were reflected in their songs". (See *Berliner Stimme*, 7 January 1967; *Vorwärts*, 18 May 1967 and others).

After Bundeswehr objects had already been given revanchist names in the past, in 1967 the former taboo on honouring nazi soldiers naming things after them was broken. On 11 August 1967 the first West German missile destroyer was given the name of nazi Admiral Günther Lütjens in Bath (US state of Maine). State Secretary Carstens certified that the admiral, who in the last radio message in 1941 had expressed his "unshakable faith" in his beloved Führer Hitler, showed a "sacrificial devotion to duty" which should also serve "future generations of the navy as an example".

Despite severe protests at home and abroad

the next two missile destroyers are to be named after the nazi supreme commander of the army, Werner von Fritsch and nazi flight commander Werner Mölders. Already in the Weimar Republic Fritsch had emphasized his arch-reactionary attitude and written:

"In the final analysis Ebert, pacifists, Jews, democrats, black-red-gold supporters and Frenchmen are all the same, i. e., people who want the destruction of Germany." (See, among others, *Westfälische Rundschau*, 28 August 1967; *Spandauer Volksblatt*, 22 September 1967; *SPD Pressedienst*, 26 September 1967)

At the recent Nordmark meeting of the Waffen SS in Rendsburg CDU Bundestag Deputy Glüsing now accordingly even supported the honouring of higher SS generals by giving their names in the Bundeswehr. (*die Tat*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 17 February 1967)

Minister Schröder gave his official blessing to this campaign for the rehabilitation and glorification of nazi bigwigs by declaring:

"We must have the courage, like every other people, to honour men who have served their country bravely and loyally."

Especially characteristic of the sharp turn to the right also in the ideological field, following the formation of the grand coalition, was the establishment of the "Deutschland Stiftung e. V." (Germany Foundation) and the award of the first "Konrad Adenauer Prizes" on 28 February 1967 to active ideologists and propagandists of the nazi era, as, for example, to the nationalist scientist Dr. Ludwig Freund, the Greater German nationalist novelist Bernt von Heiseler (*I Was an Enthusiastic Nazi*) and the Swiss publicist Dr. Armin Mohler who voluntarily offered his services to the nazis in 1942 and who worked out the "basic lines for an art history according to national aspects". *Die Welt* celebrated these awards as an occasion "which at the same time is to be a signal" (*Die Welt*, 28 February 1967)

These examples of the development of the past year clearly show that nationalism and chauvinism in the Federal Republic can by no means be measured only by the development of the NPD and its toleration by official Bonn policy. (See *Grey Book*, pp. 197–217 of the English edition)

The increased propagation of the evil spirit of nationalism, neo-nazism and chauvinism under the Kiesinger/Strauss government has become a firm part of the mental and psychological manipulation of the people for the expansionist aims of Bonn policy.

The "New" Policy is the Old Policy of German Imperialism

The expansionist policy of Bonn under the government of the grand coalition and the intensification of the fight against the status quo, in particular against the first Socialist state on German soil, the German Democratic Republic, is neither new nor accidental. This policy originates from the old reactionary course of German imperialism, directed towards the expansion of its rule and domination in Europe. In this century much blood has been spilled for this purpose under Kaiser Wilhelm and Hitler.

German imperialism, whose late development was the reason for its losing out to its opponents in the imperialist division of the world, aimed from the very outset to solve the contradiction between its economic strength and its political weakness and lack of influence by using political blackmail or military force. This was so under Wilhelm II and under Hitler and has also become the basic motto of Bonn's policy after the Second World War, when due to a massive concentration of capital, West Germany developed in a very short time into the second strongest industrial power of the capitalist world. This strong economic position in no way represented the political position of the Federal Republic among the great powers of the West. This caused Franz Josef Strauss, the designer of the Kiesinger government, to summarize this lasting contradiction in these words:

"Economically we are a giant, politically, a dwarf!"

The cause of the continuity of imperialist German politics is therefore clearly seen.

After the failure of their first attempt at reorganization in the First World War, the German imperialists, as is well known, immediately offered themselves to the Western powers as a vanguard against Bolshevism. As the spearhead of world imperialism against socialism they wanted to rearm and combine their own expansionist aims and intentions with the common aims of world imperialism—the liquidation of the young Soviet state. Winston Churchill therefore wrote in 1919:

"If we want to lay hold of Russia, this can only be done with the help of Germany".

In January 1920, the supreme commander of the American occupation army in Germany, General Allen, made the following note in his diary:

"The state most capable of successfully arresting Bolshevism is Germany. An expansion of

Germany into Russian territory would occupy the Germans for a long time".

Thus, the English, French and American imperialists helped German imperialism to regain its old positions of power after its defeat in the First World War.

This is why none of the treaties, neither that of Versailles nor Locarno, neither the Dawes nor the Young Plan, touched the basis of power of the monopolies; the aim was rather on the contrary, to support this force and once more consolidate it. Therefore the USA, England and France tolerated the renewed strengthening of the German arms potential, in spite of the limitations of Versailles, because the fear and profound hate against the first socialist state of the world and the increasingly powerful revolutionary movement triumphed over all intentions to check the competition in Europe.

The appeasement policy of the Dawes Plan and the Young Plan up to the internationally illegal Munich Agreement for the liquidation of the Czechoslovakian state, made it easy for German monopoly capital to establish its fascist dictatorship and to once more plan for the reorganization of Europe in their interest.

This led directly to the Second World War, the most devastating of all wars in the history of mankind up to that time which ended after indescribable suffering and sacrifice once more with the unconditional surrender of German imperialism and militarism.

But once more the imperialist Western powers prevented the absolute liquidation of West German imperialism and militarism, the final halt to this danger to peace and security in Europe and the world.

The victory of the Soviet Union and the complete defeat of Hitler Germany brought to nothing their treacherous plan to have the first Workers' and Farmers' state which arose from the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the imperialist German state, destroy each other. Instead of this the Soviet Union even emerged from this terrible mass murder politically and militarily strengthened and a number of other Eastern European peoples liberated themselves from the yoke of their exploiters. Referring to this miscalculation, Churchill lamented: "We slaughtered the wrong pig!"

The withdrawal of Germany—this country in the centre of Europe—from the imperialist camp would once and for all have removed the danger that another war would proceed from German soil.

But the imperialists in the USA, Great Britain and France strove just as after the First World

War, to put German imperialism back in the saddle, in order to once more build up an imperialist Germany as an anti-communist bulwark, as the spearhead of world imperialism against Socialism.

This plan could no longer be realized in the whole of Germany. Under the protection of the Socialist occupation power of the Soviet Union, the progressive and democratic forces of the German people were able to unite solidly and therefore lead the struggle against those diabolic plans which endangered peace and which aimed once more at stupifying the German people with anti-communism—this “basic folly of our century” (Thomas Mann), and, against their own interests, once more make them march against Socialism and its main bastion, the Soviet Union.

In accordance with the German imperialist tradition of placing its class interests above that of the German nation, the old Rhenish separatist Adenauer, as “Chancellor of the Allies” (Dr. Kurt Schumacher), undertook the execution of the shameful national crime of dividing Germany and praised this national betrayal with the words:

“I am the only German Chancellor who places the unity of Europe before the unity of his own country”. (*Hamburger Echo*, 21 August 1954)

Thus, on the orders of the western occupation forces, the West German separate state arose against the will of the German people and in complete disregard of their right to self-determination. And since the founding of the Federal Republic, the non-recognition of the results of the Second World War and consequently of the status quo in Europe and non-recognition of existing borders have become the main maxims of West German policy.

Nothing in this basic conception has changed from Adenauer's time to today. This is why the 14th Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the SED stated that the “conception of the foreign policy of the Kiesinger government and that of the preceding CDU/CSU governments are as alike as two rotten eggs.”

In addition: the government of the grand coalition officially completed the full incorporation of West Germany in the global strategy of USA imperialism, and is more openly than ever proclaiming and practising its expansionist policy which is directed against the GDR and European security. For this it utilizes the program worked out by CSU Chairman and Bonn Minister of Finance, Strauss, which is formulated in his book *Entwurf für Europa* (Design for

Europe). This conception drafted by Strauss forms the basis of present West German government policy. Strauss himself confirmed this at a press conference on the occasion of the provincial conference of the CSU on 30 June 1967 in which he declared that the present policy of the Bonn government in its content corresponds with a broad European conception. While it does not yet contain all the points from his book *Entwurf für Europa*, this is exactly where it is heading. The basis of this programming of the plans of West German imperialism which are comparable with Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, is mainly the knowledge resulting from the failure of the Adenauer and Erhard policy, that it is impossible to realize all the expansionist aims and efforts of West German imperialism at the same time. For this reason Strauss developed a graduated plan which Kiesinger elevated to a government program at the CDU Party Congress in Brunswick—Kiesinger called it “a stew-by-step course to the final solution”—which envisages the following stages for the accomplishment of Bonn's revanchist aims:

First of all the independent political unit of West Berlin is to be incorporated as the eleventh federal province of the West German Federal Republic and the GDR is to be isolated from the Socialist world system. In this way, bases are to be created by means of a limited war for the advance to the next attainable aim: the liquidation of the GDR and its annexation by the West German state as the twelfth federal province.

The beginning of a military conflict is to be prepared by means of a covert war in which West Berlin is to play an especially active role as a centre of provocation.

The covert war is to be extended by controlled escalation and is to become a limited blitzkrieg which would be waged up to the brink of the use of atomic weapons.

They believe that then the prerequisites will finally have been created for successful aggression against other socialist states and for the re-establishment of the old power relations within the borders of 1937.

In this tactic of “one step at a time”, Kiesinger has proved himself to be an astute student of his teachers Hitler, Ribbentrop and Goebbels. This is what Hitler said on 10 November 1938, to representatives of the Nazi press in Munich:

“Circumstances have forced me for decades to speak almost only of peace. Only by continually emphasizing the German desire for peace and peaceful intentions was it possible for me to create freedom for the German

people step-by-step and to arm them, which was always necessary as a prerequisite for the next step."

(Recordings of the Reich Radio Broadcasting Company Ltd. from the beginning of 1936 to the beginning of 1939, No. 5245, Quarterly Magazine of Contemporary History, VHZ Munich 1958 p. 182)

And in a press directive of Goebbels' ministry issued on 8 November 1938 this is said about "the handling of the Sudeten German question":

"By strongly emphasizing the directives recently given to the press, it is once more expressly requested that any unnecessary attack on another country or any form of disparagement or humiliation must be carefully avoided... It is the principle of the foreign policy of the German Reich always to deal with one thing at a time." (Quoted from W. Hagemann, Journalist in the Third Reich, Hamburg, 1948, p. 360)

Alongside their attempt to liquidate the GDR and penetrate into the Socialist countries, the West German government strives to subject Western Europe to the political will of the West German monopolists. Just as in Hitler's time, the West German imperialists today also see their only chance of accomplishing their main aims, the liquidation of socialism on German soil and rolling back socialism as far as the Urals, if they have advance influence over the economical, military and political potential of Western Europe. Hitler considered military subjugation as the quickest and most effective means. Under the present conditions of the existence of the socialist world system, even wars among imperialist states are very dangerous for the continued existence of the imperialist social system. Therefore the methods and means of expansion of German imperialism, of its striving for hegemony, have changed. But the old aim of domination remains.

"In the coming years we should mainly concentrate on the political merger of the Six. At the same time Great Britain and other European countries should be encouraged to enter the common market. Further, during this period the basis of a European nuclear deterrent power should be established, at first within the framework of a political union of the Six, and afterwards with the participation of the British atomic potential. The next aim is a European Federation. Sovereign national rights will be conferred on it step-by-step. The present national states will in time achieve approximately the status of the individual federal provinces of the (West) German Federal State." (Strauss,

Entwurf für Europa (Design für Europe), Second Edition, p. 19)

It goes without saying that the West German monopolies, on the basis of their economic strength, will occupy a firm and dominant position and will determine the policy in any so created federated state structure. In this way, according to Strauss' conception, the contradiction that West Germany is an economic giant but a political dwarf is to be overcome.

With the help of this modified "new European order" based on Hitler's example, the West German imperialists will then dispose over a powerful instrument for the accomplishment of all their revanchist claims. With the possession of this military and economic potential Strauss believes that the Soviet Union can be forced to capitulate to West German revanchist claims.

"A strong unified Western Europe will be a sufficiently important political factor for the Soviet Union in order to begin negotiations and talks with them on overcoming the European and German division". (Strauss, *Entwurf für Europa*, p. 81)

The revanchist sole representation presumption of West German finance capital is accordingly to be made the general, binding directive of the Western European Federation program. Until this is possible, it is up to the government in Bonn, according to Strauss, to adhere to the sole representation presumption, the presumption of competence for West Berlin and the demand for a revision of the Oder-Neisse frontier. (Cf. Strauss, *Entwurf für Europa*, pp. 81–82)

Strauss leaves no doubt about the nature of the final stage of this expansion program:

"A united Europe should be the first step towards the United States of Europe in which I would like to include all the peoples of Central Germany and Eastern Europe. A United Europe would occupy the position of an independent power between the United States and the Soviet Union and therefore guarantee the predominance of the free(i. e.—the capitalist—ed.) society in the world political balance of power." (loc. cit., p. 26–27)

According to Strauss' plans therefore the highest aim is the establishment of a Europe dominated by West German imperialism reaching "from the Atlantic to the Bug and to the Black Sea." (Cf. loc. cit., p. 83)

What Are the Forces behind Strauss and His "Design for Europe"?

Such a comprehensive graduated program for the expansionist policy of West German imperialism is doubtless not the work of a single person. It is certain that Strauss was pushed onto the political stage as their representative by the Wacker Chemie which belongs to the IG-Farben trust and its former chief, Professor Siegfried Balke, in order to ensure that their plans are also carried out in the central government.

Both the CDU and Strauss received financial assistance from the Wacker Chemie quite early. To this end Strauss made his political protector Balke his deputy in the Atomic Ministry, although he was not a member of the CSU at that time, because Balke had played a significant role in the development of West German atomic armament in the interest of the IG-Farben group. Balke is today president of the Federal Association of (West) German Employers' Organizations and although he was not re-elected at the last CSU provincial conference he is still a member of the management of the CSU provincial executive. Without doubt Professor Balke and his Federal Association of (West) German Employers' Organizations is one of the initiators of the book *Entwurf für Europa* and one of the supporters of Strauss' return to Bonn from his "exile in Munich".

Dr. Wolfgang Pohle, the personally liable partner in the Flick AG is a member of Strauss' circle of supporters and friends. After Pohle became treasurer of Strauss' Party at the CSU provincial conference in 1967 he immediately organized a new financial action for the CSU by capital centred in Bavaria in junction with the industrialist association "Bavarian Citizens' Association, registered". Not to be left out of the great supporters of Franz Josef Strauss is the powerful banker, Abs.

During Bonn's government crisis the Springer paper *Welt am Sonntag* prominently published an exclusive interview with Abs, from which we quote the following:

"Abs recalls that he had proposed to Chancellor Adenauer in 1957 that Strauss be made minister of finance. 'He is intelligent enough to do the job. Formerly the Ministry of Finance was the best staffed Ministry. I can't say the same today (under Erhard—editor) . . .'

"Strauss would fit into any minister's suit . . .

"In any case, however, he (Hermann J. Abs—editor) would certainly bring Strauss to a position of responsibility in Bonn.

When the conversation came around to Strauss as a possible chancellor Abs once more withdrew to his line of elastic defence. This question isn't posed today . . . and the day after tomorrow? Yes, the problem could be ripe then." (*Welt am Sonntag* West Berlin/Hamburg, No. 42, 16 October 1966)

But the rise of Strauss and the origin of his book *Entwurf für Europa* have not only been inspired by these three powerful persons, it is also based on a connection with the particularly rapid development of the armament monopolies in Bavaria during Strauss' term of office as war minister in Bonn.

As a study by the University of Cologne proves, a disproportionately large amount of West German armament orders goes to Bavaria.

In June 1967 this study of the University of Cologne was published with the title "Influence of Defence Purchases on the Regional Structure of the Federal Republic of Germany"¹

In this study 17,500 orders of the Federal Office of Military Technology and Procurement in Coblenz which were placed in 1960 were investigated. This resulted in quite revealing facts, for example, that a serious shift in the distribution of armament orders had taken place, which led to a great increase in the share of those armament monopolies which are located in the South German region, and in particular in Bavaria.

This process has been cautiously paraphrased in the study by the statement that Bavaria received "some unusually large orders in 1960."²

The result of this good understanding between Strauss and his powerful backers, however, becomes quite clear.

From a breakdown of the shares of the different areas of West Germany we get the following picture:³

Province	Share in orders in per cent
North Rhine-Westphalia	15.55
Hesse	8.66
Saarland	1.24
Lower Saxony	5.38
Rhineland-Palatinate	2.76
Baden-Württemberg	14.84
Bavaria	32.19
(table abridged)	

¹ Space research and space organization, 25 June 1967, No. 2, Carl Haymanns Verlag KG, Cologne, Berlin, Bonn—Munich.

² *ibid.*, p. 53

³ *ibid.*, p. 52

During his term of office as West German war minister Strauss contributed significantly to the preparation of this Bavarian armament boom. The order for the development of the "Leopard" tanks was issued under his auspices. In 1966 the Krauss-Maffei AG in Munich delivered the first tanks. In 1967 the second and third deliveries were made. As a result of the "Leopard" order the Krauss-Maffei AG has increased its turnover in the last business year to 325 million marks as against 194 million marks in the previous year. Profits of the company for the last business year were estimated to be at least 45 per cent by the Association for the Protection of Securities. (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, No. 134, 14 and 15 July 1967)

Strauss is closely connected with one of the most rapidly expanding big banks in West Germany, the "Bayrische Vereinsbank", and its executive board member Hans Christoph Freiherr von Tucher. Tucher is a member of the Economic Advisory Council of the CSU; he held one of the main speeches at the economic conference of the CDU/CSU. In the spring of 1967 the "Bayrische Vereinsbank" which Tucher represents provided Franz Josef Strauss with a substantial loan of two million marks for his publication *Bayern Kurier* and for the CSU. (*Westfälische Rundschau*, Dortmund, No. 45, 22 February 1967)

The monopolies Farbwerke Hoechst, Siemens, Klöckner, Vereinigte Industrie Unternehmungen (VIAG) and others and the president of the Federal Association of Private Banks, as well as the vice president of the (West) German Congress of Industry and Trade (DIHT), Alwin Münchmeyer, are represented in the board of directors of the Bayrische Vereinsbank. Representatives of the Allianz Versicherung, Bölkow GmbH and the former federal minister of finance, the banker Fritz Schäffer, are among those in the bank's advisory council.

Siemens, Bölkow and the VIAG play a decisive role in the development of modern atomic weapons and missiles in Bavaria. Thus, for example, the VIAG produces aluminium and other special metals for the construction of missiles, while Siemens develops among other things fuel cells and super-conductors for the construction of missiles. In addition Siemens is extensively involved in the building of West German nuclear reactors.

The Bölkow GmbH is one of the leading firms taking part in the Bavarian armament boom. Within two years the firm was able to increase the number of its employees by one and a half times up to 1967 (7,300 employees). Of these

employees nearly 3,000 are scientific experts, graduate engineers, physicists, chemists and mathematicians. Direct armament and space orders account for at least 90 per cent of the turnover of Bölkow GmbH in Ottobrunn near Munich. The Boeing Company of Seattle has a 25 per cent participation in the firm, another foreign partner of the firm is the Nord-Aviation of France. Bölkow's armament program includes vertical take-off planes, helicopters, the "Cobra" anti-tank rocket, the control mechanism for missiles, essential parts of the third stage of the ELDO carrier missile "Europa 1", the satellite 625 A 1, and other satellites such as the Jupiter, asteroid and sun probes.

Strauss, whose father-in-law, Dr. Max Zwicknagl, helped to prepare the annexation of Austria in the 1920's while employed as the president of the German-Austrian Chamber of Commerce in Vienna, now supports the inclusion of Austria in the sphere of influence of the West German armament monopolies. Thus only a short while ago a major part of the previously state-owned Austrian electrical industry was brought under the influence of the Siemens armament trust. (*Volksstimme*, Vienna, No. 157, 12 July 1967) Strauss promoted this creeping inclusion of Austria when he transferred his deputy of long standing on the editorial staff of the *Bayern Kurier*, Alfons Dalma, to propagate the expansionism of West German finance capital as editor-in-chief of the Austrian Radio.

The book *Entwurf für Europa* and thus the graduated program of expansion of the Kiesinger government is therefore supported by the top men of West German finance capital and the armament monopolies who have transferred their modern arms industries from the insecure Ruhr area to south of the Main river and there provide the material base for the CSU and Franz Josef Strauss.

The policy of the sole representation pretension and the change of the status quo in Europe violate the vital interests of the peoples and European security. Such a policy cannot be accomplished by peaceful means. The Kiesinger/Strauss government is well aware of this. For this reason it tries to force on the peoples this policy by methods of blackmail, economic pressure and military threats. For many years it has been building up the largest military force in Western Europe and aiming at control over atomic weapons. Such a policy costs—as Gerstenmaier said—very much money. Such a policy must of necessity lead to disastrous social and political consequences for the West German people.

The Economic, Financial and Social Policy of the Government of the Grand Coalition

WORDS:

"As regards social welfare benefits, those which serve the security of life are neither to reduce assets, nor are they to be pegged at their present rate . . .

"The necessary limitations and burdens must be distributed as evenly as possible among all groups and sections of the population". (From the government declaration of Kiesinger, 13 December 1966)

FACTS:

December 1966:

Due to the law on the alteration of tax rates, the mineral oil tax was raised, the tobacco tax was increased by 20 per cent and the so-called lump-sum kilometre-allowance was reduced.

The financial planning law drastically cut back the federal subsidies for maternity protection, educational grants and social housing construction.

Both these laws resulted in losses in social benefits to the amount of 4 thousand million marks for the working population.

January 1967:

The "adjustment of the budget deficit" led to the cancellation of a sum of 1,092 million marks, mainly in social welfare allocations, including 300 million marks for pensions insurance.

April 1967:

Through the introduction of the surplus value tax, which affects the price structure, the population will be burdened by tax increases to the amount of approximately 8.5 thousand million marks during the years 1968–1971.

September 1967:

The medium-term financial planning will impose an additional burden on the working people in the form of taxation and dues increases totalling 24.1 thousand million marks up to the year 1971. Further cuts, above all in the social welfare budget, amount to the sum of 29.8 thousand million marks.

October 1967:

361,000 officially registered unemployed with the expectation of 1 million unemployed during the winter months.

The real wages of the workers were reduced by 1.6 per cent during the first three quarters of 1967.

Thousands of Millions as a Gift to the Monopolies

January 1967:

The "adjustment of the budget deficit" was a tax gift of one thousand million marks for the big syndicates in the form of an additional tax depreciation.

April 1967:

2.5 thousand million marks' worth of additional state orders to the large enterprises through the credit financing law, to ensure their profits.

September 1967:

Medium-term financial planning envisages an increase in armament expenditure from 18.7 thousand million marks in 1968 to 22 thousand million marks in 1971. Further financial subsidies for the monopolies amounting to 5.3 thousand million marks.

Obvious and partly rapid profit growth among the big syndicates also occurred in 1967. According to the "orientation data" issued by Minister of Economic Affairs, Schiller, net profits increased by 5.5 per cent as compared with the previous year. Profit increases of 28.2 per cent, price increases of 2.2 per cent, but wage increases of only 1.2 per cent are expected for the year 1968. Bank baron J. H. Abs therefore declared on behalf of industrial and finance capital:

"I can hardly imagine a better government at present than the one we have." (*Industriekurier*, 18 May 1967)

An Economic Policy for Millionaires against Millions

The Kiesinger/Strauss government has struck the greatest blow yet against the social conditions

of the working people in order to cover the constantly increasing costs of the gigantic armament drive, the aggressive sole representation pretension and the support of US global strategy in the world. The economic and financial potential is to be increased in order to extend the capacity for action of the West German state under the conditions of the intensified and sharpened struggle against the GDR.

The economic, financial and social policy constitutes a decisive factor of the reactionary right-wing course followed by the grand coalition government in two respects.

Firstly, by means of the "new orientation of budget policy" and the "regulation of the public budgets", it is to guarantee the government "the necessary power of action in all spheres of home and foreign policy" as well as to give the government the ability to "regain the lost financial margin for our political decisions". (From Kiesinger's government declaration, 13 December 1966, *Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government*, No. 157, p. 1267 of the German edition)

Secondly, it is to provide the big syndicates of West Germany the "necessary security (guarantees) for directing their enterprise planning and investment decisions at a revival of the economic situation". (ibid.) Thus the aim consists in assuring maximum profits under changed conditions.

An even greater proportion of the national revenue is to be mobilized for the profit economy and the great-power and hegemony aspirations of West German industrial and finance capital and for the forced armament policy of the West German state. These aims pursued by the Kiesinger/Strauss government had already been clearly apparent in several frank threats contained in the government declaration:

"The large blocks of consumer expenditures in the federal budget will have to be re-examined without fear of taboos." "The government cannot renounce tax increases in advance... Economic growth must not be obstructed by taxation policy."

Capital, therefore, immediately received the calming assurance that it would remain exempted from "limitations and burdens". Kiesinger, with equal emphasis underlined the inviolability of the military budget, which could not be "a reserve fund for correcting budget trespasses of past years".

Since this course of social cutback was bound to meet with the opposition of the trade unions and all the working people, the concept of "concerted action" was launched in order to

help co-ordinate the trade unions, to move them towards renunciation of wage and social demands and, at the same time, to arouse the illusion of their participation in economic and political decisions. "The scope of the expansionist policy decisively depends on the success of voluntary and joint action of trade unions and employers' associations towards stable conduct in the upsurge. The Federal Government will therefore support a concerted action of this kind by its example and procedure..." (ibid. p. 1268)

The present Bonn Government has now been in office for one year and has been following the economic and political course previously outlined. The promises made to the working people have remained unfulfilled. Instead of economic growth and full employment, there has occurred the greatest raid on the workers' wallets in the history of the Bonn state up to now—a history abundant in anti-social measures.

On the other hand, the promises to increase the power of the monopolist economy and to build up state monopoly domination have been fulfilled.

The Formation of State Finances for the Policy of Expansion

The "new formation of state finances" has taken a foremost place in government activities which resulted in an unparalleled sequence of financial-political measures aimed at plundering the West German population.

December 1966: "Financial Planning and Tax Revision Law"

Only a week after the cabinet was formed a Federal Parliament majority passed the "Financial Planning Law" and the "Tax Revision Law".

Both these laws very clearly show how the Bonn Government intends to ensure the constantly growing finances required for its expansionist policy. The "Tax Revision Law 1966" raised the most lucrative consumer taxes.

Thus

- the mineral oil tax was increased at the beginning of the year;
- the tobacco tax was increased by 20 per cent as of 1 March 1966;

– the so-called lump-sum kilometre allowance as well as the tax measures to encourage saving among workers and employees were greatly reduced.

The "Financial Planning Law" introduced the phased cutback of state social welfare subsidies. On the basis of this law, the Bonn state reduced its social welfare expenditures in three ways:

Firstly through the reduction in federal subsidies in which the costs were shifted to insurance funds (including the transfer of responsibilities for maternity benefits to the unemployment insurance)

Secondly through partial or total cancellation of social welfare allocations (e. g. reduction of educational grants for children, cuts in the federal subsidies for housing construction) and

Thirdly by the transformation of due cash subsidies into claims on the debt register. (Thus the pensions insurance for workers and employees was granted claims on the debt register for the year 1967 corresponding to the value of 1,250 million marks instead of cash subsidies.)

The first two finance-political measures introduced by the Kiesinger/Strauss government already meant a loss in social welfare benefits to the West German working population totalling approximately 4 thousand million marks. It soon proved, however, to be only the first phase in the restructuring of federal expenditures. The Kiesinger/Strauss government was proceeding according to a graduated program also in the domain of economic and social policy—similar to foreign policy—in order to achieve its aim of shifting the burden of its expansionist policy onto the working population.

January 1967:

Measures to "Adjust the Budget Deficit"

The large-scale raid on the wallets of the West German citizens was continued by the 1967 decision concerning the compensation of the budget deficit a few weeks later, on 19 January 1967. As under previous laws, the budget deficit caused by the policy of boundless expansion and armament, was advanced as a pretext for the further cutback in social welfare benefits, the increase in taxation and further debts. The gap of 3.7 thousand million marks was to be closed by additional reductions in expenditure of 2,531 million marks, increased revenues of 905 million marks, and further debts amounting to 242 million marks.

As regards the reduction of expenditures, social welfare allocations were the first victim to

the amount of 1,092 million marks. The social welfare dismantling campaign was particularly directed against the West German farmers, whose state subsidies were reduced by 429 million marks.

The following cancellations were made at the expense of the West German workers, employees and farmers:

- 200 million marks of state subsidies for employees' pension insurance;
- 100 million marks subsidies for the miners' pension insurance;
- 85 million marks for educational grants;
- 104 million marks in assistance credits to create investment and economic assets and agricultural building;
- 55 million marks assistance funds for people who have left agriculture;
- 50 million marks subsidies for road construction in rural areas;
- 40 million marks subsidies for the agricultural accident insurance.

The following means were made available to the big syndicates:

- 1 thousand million marks through additional depreciation allowances to the amount of 10 per cent as a special privilege for investments during the period from 20 January–31 October 1967.

The effect of this special depreciation allowance was not a general stimulation of investment activities, but the acceleration of the differentiation process in West Germany to the advantage of the most powerfully capitalized concerns, since only these disposed over the corresponding gross profits required for the utilization of such short-term investment assistance.

Not only did the means for this generous taxation gift to the monopolies come out of the workers' pockets; these special depreciation allowances are also making themselves felt in a general increase of prices, for it is the practice of employers to shift additional depreciation allowances onto prices.

April 1967: Credit Financing Act

The so-called "1967 Credit Financing Act" of 11 April 1967 operated, similarly to the special depreciation allowances, as a shielding and safeguarding of monopolist profits against the acute results of the crisis. A special budget (the first eventuality budget) was formed for this purpose, whose means were utilized to undertake additional investments to the value of

2.5 thousand million marks, mainly in railways, the federal postal service and the Bundeswehr as well as road and housing construction.

In this way it was possible to include some of the armament orders temporarily postponed because of financial difficulties, in the special budget, thereby shielding and stabilizing the profits of the big trusts to a large extent from the results of economic regression with the aid of state orders. Even though the expected boom did not occur as a result of the first eventuality budget, it still served as an excellent source of additional profits for the big trusts.

For the working population this situation involved further financial burdens. Since the eventuality budget is financed by way of medium and short-term credits, it conjures up the danger of an inflatory production of money by the bank-note printer. Even when the "1967 Credit Financing Act" was passed, it had been clear that the Federal Government would have to incur further debts of 8.06 thousand million marks this year in order to cover the costs of its extraordinary budget.

Meanwhile, the Bundestag had already passed the second additional investment budget at its special session from 6–9 September, which, just as its precursor, is to be financed by means of debts. This time the additional volume of investments reached dimensions of 5.3 thousand million marks. Investments will not only be confined to the federal budget, but affect budgets at all levels, including the provinces and municipalities.

By including the provinces and municipalities in the investment budget, they were at the same time burdened by a large share of the load resulting from it. Provinces and municipalities are obliged to incur additional debts to the amount of 2.5 thousand million marks in order to fulfil their financial obligations. This in part constitutes a measure taken in anticipation of the "great financial reform" envisaged, according to which, among other things, the federal and provincial authorities are to jointly plan and finance the so-called community tasks. The second eventuality budget thus not only serves to safeguard the profits of the big capitalist undertakings of the present period, but also the re-distribution of financial means among the three budget levels to the advantage of the constantly increasing expenditures of the cold war, the sole representation pretension policy and above all, record armament as a means to impose the hegemony claims of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. The thousands of millions spent for these purposes have torn a hole in the state

budget and resulted in state debts which alarmingly increase the danger of inflationary development:

April 1967: Surplus Value Taxation Law

The so-called "Surplus Value Taxation Law", at the end of April 1967, was already the next step towards further perfecting the comprehensive system of state re-distribution. The reactionary revision of the turnover tax introduced by this law, which becomes valid from 1 January 1968, pursues the following two main objectives:

firstly the taxation privileges of monopoly capital are in this way to be adapted to the present conditions, strengthening its international competitive position as well as further promoting its economic expansion;

secondly the indirect taxation of the working people is to be extended, with a view of bleeding them white to finance the aggressive policy of the government. The taxation rates of 10 per cent (normal rate) and 5 per cent (reduced rate) envisaged by the law was increased two months later by the Federal Government to 11 and 5.5 per cent respectively within the scope of the so-called medium-term financial planning.

Due to this new turnover tax, which fully affects prices, the West German citizens will have to raise an additional sum of 8.5 thousand million marks in taxation in the period from 1968 to 1971. In contrast to this the Federal Government disclaimed a possible 700 million marks in taxation revenues from the "surplus value taxation" of capitalist enterprises, by allowing employers to exempt stocks on hand at their enterprises on 1 January 1968 from the old turnover tax already contained in them.

The "Medium-term Financial Planning"—the Graduated Program for the Financing of the Internal and External Aggression

"Medium-term financial planning"—the climax up to date of the reactionary social and economic policy of the Kiesinger/Strauss government—is a several-years program for the intensified exploitation of the West German people. "Medium-term financial planning" also shows the inability of state monopoly capitalism to come to terms with its basic contradictions.

This financial plan results from the vast difference between the immense foreign political goals and the limited opportunities and is on the other hand, an expression of the refusal of the great coalition government to solve the present and future tasks of the Federal Republic in the interest of the people.

Minister of Finance, F. J. Strauss, characterized "medium-term financial planning" as a significant landmark in the history of the Federal Republic. At the Bundestag debate on 6 September 1967, he pompously stated:

"This is the significance—I can safely say, the national significance—of this financial planning: to create the foundations, to set the tone and to define the future aims to be attained by the coming generation." (*Bundesanzeiger*, Cologne, No. 169, 8 September 1967)

The tone is in fact being set and the "medium-term financial planning" is proving to be the "calculated draft of a political plan". (F. J. Strauss, before the Bundestag on 24 October 1967)

The principal aim is to cover the enormous deficit in the federal budget. Despite the measures already decided in the finance planning and tax revision laws, the following balance was established for the period up to 1971 (in thousand million marks):

	1968	1969	1970	1971	total ¹
envisaged expenditure ²	87.50	91.80	98.10	102.00	379.40
estimated revenues	71.85	77.10	80.75	84.35	314.05
original deficit	15.65	14.70	17.35	17.65	65.35

Those who had constantly prophesied new crises in the GDR are now confronted with a heap of political and financial wreckage.

Normally bankruptcy means retirement, but Bonn is trying to regulate the state budget on a new basis with the aid of "medium-term financial planning". According to this financial plan, the debt is to be paid not by those who caused the crisis, but by those who are the victims of the crisis.

The Priority of Armament

The causes of this catastrophic development lie neither in the allegedly excessive social welfare expenditure, nor in the long-term survey which

had been lacking in the past. They lie in the continuous overburdening of the state budget by the rising costs of a miscalculated policy. The costs of the Bundeswehr alone, declared by the Federal Ministry of Finances itself as "defence costs", the stationing of foreign troops, "civil defence" and the so-called aid to West Berlin, swallowed approximately 237 thousand million marks from 1950–1967.

Every year the economically unproductive and politically dangerous armament destroys an essential part of the total social product. The activity of 1.04 million working people was required to supply the goods and services needed within the sphere of the Ministry of Defence during the single year 1966.

Medium-term financial planning will not lead to a turning point, but only to an intensification of this course. The budget of the Ministry of Defence alone will be developed as follows:

1968 =	18.7 thousand million marks
1969 =	20.1 thousand million marks
1970 =	21.3 thousand million marks
1971 =	22.0 thousand million marks

Military expenditure during the period of medium-term financial planning will thus not only increase at a faster rate than during the period from 1964–1967, but it will consist of a total of over 7 thousand million marks more than during the past four years. The Federal Chancellor Kiesinger therefore made the laconic statement: "No one can really speak of a curtailment of the defence budget endangering our security." (*Bulletin of the Federal Press and Information Office*, No. 76, 18 July 1967, p. 650 of the German edition)

However, the rising expenditures serving increasing armament are hereby in no way exhausted. If e.g. the annual increase in state expenditure for science and research of an average of 16 per cent is envisaged under medium-term financial planning, more than 50 per cent is intended for nuclear, ballistic and cosmic research with military aims.

The following decisions have been taken for the financing of this program within the framework of medium-term financial planning:

reduction of expenditures by 29.8 thousand million marks

tax increases of 13.7 thousand million marks

the assumption of credits to the amount of 21.95 million marks.

According to CSU-Minister Strauss and SPD Minister Schiller, "all groups and sections will have to make sacrifices and accept deprivations" ... for this purpose, and the Springer

¹ *Regierungsbulletin* No. 73, 8 July 1967, p. 625–26

² including measures to promote investment envisaged up to that time

paper *Bild* commented on 8 July 1967: "Everyone will have to bleed, everyone will have to make sacrifices, from the pensioner to the millionaire."

This is the principle according to which the grand coalition government was resolved on

medium-term financial planning. Yet the distribution of the burdens imposed by this financial program shows that only the people will be made to pay up, while the millionaires will not only come out unshorn, but will become even richer.

Thus the following expenditure cuts are planned in the direct social sphere (in millions of marks)

	1968	1969	1970	1971	Total
Cut in the Federal subsidy for pension insurance of workers and employees	731	933	1,185	1,185	4,034
Decrease in the Federal subsidy for miners' pension insurance	469	617	765	914	2,765
Cut in the Federal subsidy for maternity benefits	10	330	350	370	1,060
Cancellation of the Federal subsidy for miners' accident insurance	—	140	150	160	450
Limitation of childrens' allowance through the introduction of an income limit	65	67	71	79	282
Economizing in the war victims' fund	—	—	650	650	1,300
Cancellation of the Federal subsidy for miner's sickness benefit	34	33	32	32	131
Economizing in the Federal subsidy for farmers' old-age benefits	5	15	35	45	100
Cancellation of the special contributions within the framework of the maintenance security law	45	45	45	45	180
Cut in contributions of the association for social dwelling construction	15	28.2	26.4	24.6	94.2
Cut in housing allowance subsidy in the low income bracket	30	50	50	50	180
	1,404	2,258	3,359	3,554	10,575

Among others, the decrease of the Federal subsidies are to be "balanced" by the following measures:

- Increase of social security contributions by one per cent annually until 1970 (from 14 to 17 per cent)
- two per cent sickness benefit contribution of pensioned miners; reduction of the rate of increase in miners' pensions;
- two per cent contribution of all pensioners to the pension and sick benefit fund

If one adds to this the tax increases decided upon (13.7 thousand million marks), the result is an additional load of 24.1 thousand million marks to be borne by the West German workers in the coming years.

In addition there is the huge national debt, which will also increase by a further 22 thousand million marks in the years up to 1971. For this too, the West German workers will have to

foot the bill in the coming years, in the form of an accelerated creeping inflation which will considerably reduce their purchasing power.

Who Are the Profiteers—Who Pays the Bill?

"I summarize the principles of the economic policy which correspond to the second phase of our market economy system as social symmetry. The important thing in this principle is the necessary social balance in the sense of social justice. The overall economic aims must not be achieved by a burdening or favouring of one side or by the rejection of socially just aims of distribution." (*Welt der Arbeit*, Cologne, 28 April 1967)

The words of Economics Minister Schiller sound social and democratic. The facts, after one year of the grand coalition, speak another language.

Power growth of the trusts

The degree of monopolization hitherto achieved in the development of state monopoly capitalism in West Germany, which was unique in the history of German imperialism and without parallel in Western Europe, was only to be beginning.

Ernst von Siemens, chairman of the board of advisors of the Siemens trust, already stated in April 1966 that the West German industrialists "are on the threshold of a greater upsurge of cooperation and mergers than we have ever before experienced". (*Blick durch die Wirtschaft*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 5 April 1966)

Whereas the CDU governments under Adenauer and Erhard still wanted to give the impression that they condemned a "disproportionate concentration of power", the Kiesinger/Strauss government and their social democratic hand-maidens frankly demand a strong concentration of power and ensure every form of state support for its accomplishment.

Thus, Finance Minister Strauss stated in the middle of this year: "We must create a tax law that does not impede mergers and concentrations within the European sphere, but rather facilitates them." (*Der Volkswirt*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 6 June 1967)

Accordingly, the organs of state are becoming ever more frequently and massively involved in the monopolization process.

When, in spring 1967, Hermann Josef Abs, head of the board of directors of the Deutsche Bank, worked out a plan for stabilizing the Krupp trust which was in financial difficulty by means of a Federal subsidy of 300 million marks taken from tax funds, this plan, which cost 4,000 Krupp workers their jobs, was immediately implemented by SPD minister Schiller. It was also Economic Minister Schiller who encouraged the West German steel industrialists in further economic concentrations of power at the meeting of the Economic Association of the Iron and Steel Industry. "The rolled-steel marketing boards, according to the view of the Federal Economic Minister should primarily stimulate a further movement towards mergers in the German steel industry. They should, as Professor Schiller said, not be regarded as permanent sickness benefit funds, but as four training centres for new mergers." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 13 May 1967)

Schiller also supported all efforts of the rolled steel marketing boards to decrease the number of employees and destroy the rights won by the trade unionists. He therefore willingly followed the plans in which Dr. Herbert W. Köhler, man-

ager of the board of directors of the Economic Association of the Iron and Steel Industry, had demanded: An agreement between the DGB and IG Metal on the one hand and the associations of marketing boards on the other must "ensure that this co-determination is not extended to the marketing boards". (*Stahl und Eisen*, No. 6, 23 March 1967)

The centralization processes in the sphere of the rolled steel marketing boards have reached a previously unknown magnitude under the promotion of Strauss and Schiller.

—Thus the August-Thyssen-Hütte (metallurgical plant) and the Hüttenwerke Oberhausen AG (ironworks) are preparing their fusion, after which they would account for more than 30 per cent of the West German raw steel production.

—Further centralization proceeding from the Thyssen trust includes parts of the Mannesmannwerke; furthermore Thyssen has already paved the way for international amalgamations which make it become one of Western Europe's mammoth trusts. Thus the Thyssen group realized a turnover of more than 8,000 million marks which in West Germany is exceeded only by the Volkswagenwerk.

—Klöckner and the Otto Wolff trust formed a common trade enterprise for a number of special products.

Strauss and Schiller also follow the directions of finance capital in the coal and power policy. On 12 June 1967 Chairman Abs of the board of directors of the Deutsche Bank, Chairman H.-G. Sohl of the Iron and Steel Association, Schneider, president of the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Funke, head of the Gelsenkirchner Bergwerk AG, submitted to Schiller a program for the rearrangement of the West German coal industry by a leading company. This company is to register the mines, coking plants and briquetting plants on the Ruhr and Saar and decide on the closure of pits. The profit of those trusts which bring their mines, etc., into the company is to be guaranteed by the state.

Schiller agreed in principle with this so-called Abs Plan with the help of which the federally-owned mining companies shall also be put under the direct control of the coal trusts and the chief aim of which is to ensure the profits of the coal trusts. On 8 November 1967 Schiller submitted to the Bundestag an appropriate plan for the formation of a central managing company in the West German mining industry. According to Schiller's plan at least 80,000 of the present 295,000 employees in the mining industry are to lose their jobs by 1971. Furthermore Schiller intends to make available at least two

thousand million marks from tax money as a guarantee against loss to ensure the profits of the united company. (*Die Welt*, edition B, No. 2/62, 9 November 1967)

On the initiative of the Bonn Ministry of Economics, the Deutsche Werft AG, Hamburg (Haniel and AEG trust), the Kiel Howaldtswerke AG and the Howaldtswerke Hamburg AG (both federally owned) in May 1966 signed a merger contract for 31 December 1968.

On the initiative of SPD Minister Schiller, 1 January 1968 was agreed upon as a new date of merger at a joint session of the three North German enterprises in Bonn.

The centralization process in the West German aircraft and missile industry, which is up to 90 per cent dependent on armament orders, has been forced for years by massive interference (threats to stop orders) by the war minister in office. At present merger negotiations are being conducted on pressure from Bonn which aim at uniting the most important aircraft and missile enterprise into a single super-trust with some 25,000 employees. As a preliminary stage the Messerschmitt AG has amalgamated with all of its subsidiary companies and now operates as the Messerschmitt-Werke-Flugzeug-Union Süd GmbH. The next stage envisages a union with the Bölkow trust. Afterwards the union with the Vereinigte Flugtechnische Werke GmbH (VFW), Bremen, is planned.

From the abundance of further mergers during the period in office of the Kiesinger/Strauss government only a few typical examples may be mentioned here:

The shareholders' meeting of the Deutsche Erdöl AG, Hamburg, decided on 17 December 1966 on the incorporation of the enterprise in the American Texaco trust which according to last reports controls 97 per cent of the capital (357 million marks) of the Deutsche Erdöl AG.

The Klöckner & Co. in Duisburg, the original company of the Klöckner trust with a turnover of 3,800 million marks in 1966, has agreed on cooperation with the Otto Wolff trust (2,200 million marks turnover) and first of all founded a common enterprise, the Klöckner-Wolff-Krane GmbH & Co. in Düsseldorf.

On 4 July the shareholders of the Phrix-Werke AG (some 400 million marks turnover) decided upon incorporation in the Badische Anilin & Co. Soda-Fabrik AG (BASF); moreover, the BASF has bought up the most efficient enterprise in the production of insulating lacquers and insulating materials, the Dr. Beck & Co. AG in Hamburg.

The American trust Time International will take over one-third of the capital of the Rowohlt-

Taschenbuch-Verlag GmbH, one of the largest West German book publishing houses.

At the beginning of 1967 the Bosch-Siemens-Haushaltsgeräte GmbH was founded as administration company for the cooperation between the two trusts which was first agreed upon in the sector of electric household implements.

Priority of Profits

There is scarcely any speech by members of the Bonn government on questions of economic policy in which it is not stressed with emphasis that the "increase in the employers' profits" is one of the special concerns of the federal government. These declarations were justified with the allegedly "intolerable lessening of enterprise profits" which endangers their competitiveness and even their existence and thereby the jobs.

These allegations do not gain in truth by their constant repetition. They had to serve already in 1966 to justify the socially reactionary basic position of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. But in fact profits of the last years show the following picture:

Total dividends distributed by 1,692 West German joint-stock companies¹

(some 75 per cent of all joint-stock companies) in million marks

1964	1965	1966
4,065.1	4,149.5	4,212.5

"Net profits" (in million marks) recorded in the balance sheets of a few trust companies²

	1964	1965	1966
Thyssen Röhrenwerke AG, Düsseldorf, until 1965			
Phoenix-Rheinrohr AG, Vereinigte Hütten- und Röhrenwerke	28.73	32.09	27.52
Maschinenfabrik Augsburg- Nürnberg AG, Augsburg (MAN)	16.80	18.90	18.92
Demag AG, Duisburg	15.07	16.07	15.51
Volkswagen AG, Wolfsburg	120.01	120.03	120.11
Daimler Benz AG, Stuttgart	72.95	85.11	91.20

¹ *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, Federal Office of Statistics, Wiesbaden, Stuttgart-Mainz, No. 9/1967

² *DWI* (German Institute of Economics) *Reports*, 12/1966 and 12/1967

	1964	1965	1966
Ford-Werke AG, Cologne	32.40	84.00	181.20
Farbenfabriken Bayer AG, Leverkusen	162.83	175.50	175.50
Farbwerke Hoechst AG, Frankfurt-on-Main	154.85	180.60	210.80
Badische Anilin & Soda-fabrik AG, Ludwigshafen (BASF)	160.07	200.06	229.55
Deutsche Gold- und Silber-Scheideanstalt, Frankfurt-on-Main (DEGUSSA)	22.68	29.54	29.46
AEG-Telefunken, until 1965			
AEG Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-gesellschaft, West Berlin/ Frankfurt-on-Main	64.90	73.64	74.29
Continental			
Gummi-Werke AG, Hanover	25.20	25.20	28.56
Total	876.49	1,040.74	1,202.62

Net profits calculated by the German Institute of Economics of 50 West German joint-stock companies (in million marks)

1964	1965	1966
6,989.52	7,057.34	7,931.25

The following trust companies with a share capital of more than 400 million marks realized the following net profits (in million marks)

	1964	1965	1966
Volkswagenwerk AG	892.24	681.82	851.14
Daimler Benz AG	345.54	637.79	571.09
Siemens AG, until 1965 Siemens-Schuckertwerke AG	700.77	610.61	986.52
AEG-Telefunken, until 1965			
AEG Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft	260.51	277.73	394.18
Farbenfabriken Bayer AG	639.98	548.39	702.53
Farbwerke Hoechst AG	785.31	630.14	763.89
Badische Anilin & Sodafabrik AG	616.22	722.72	900.21
Total	4,240.57	4,109.20	5,169.56

This table shows a clear and in part rapid growth in the profits of the big trusts. Even when profits could not grow to the same extent in this year as a consequence of the economic crisis for which the monopoly economy itself is responsible—especially the profits of the small and medium enterprises—they still amount to astronomical sums which have accumulated over the

years; there are growing signs that the measures for social retrenchment of the Kiesinger government have already had an effect on profits.

This development of profits makes the aggravation of the flagrant social injustice in West Germany in the last years especially obvious.

Whereas the working population has to bear the burdens of the Bonn policy of expansion, the rich are becoming ever richer. So it is that today 0.3 per cent of the population have more wealth than 99.7 per cent of the people. Some 600 persons or family dynasties have private fortunes of more than 100 million marks. At the top is war profiteer Friedrich Flick with estimated private property of two to three thousand million marks, followed by such families of the money aristocracy as Haniel, Thyssen, Klöckner, Siemens, Bosch, Werhahn, Quandt, Horten, the owners of the IG-Farben trust, etc.

This monstrous concentration of property in West Germany, conditioned by the lowest taxes on profits of all capitalist countries, has led to a parasitic, wasteful life of luxury without example for a small upper section.

The development of wages and work incomes is completely in the opposite direction.

As a result of the intensified rationalization measures in the trust enterprises, the pressure on wages, social retrenchment and dismissals a "noticeable regression in wage costs as compared with total costs and also with sales" is already to be recorded in the West German iron production industry according to calculations of the Metalworkers' Industrial Union in the DGB. (*Westfälische Rundschau*, Dortmund, No. 251, 29 October 1967)

The wage cost share in one ton of steel fell from an average of 82.35 marks in the first seven months of 1966 to 78.73 marks in the first seven months of 1967, and the number of work hours per ton of raw steel from 15.93 to 14.35 hours in the same period.

"But according to a study of the Trinkhans Bank the increase in profits of the steel mills will be considerable in 1968. The prognosis is even hazarded that a strong stimulation of investment activity and thus of the demand for steel will lead to profit increases of 50 per cent as compared with the 1966 level." (*Handelsblatt*, Düsseldorf, No. 189, 30 September 1967)

The Badische Anilin & Sodafabrik AG which had a considerable profit increase already in 1966, announced that the shareholders of the trust could again reckon with a dividend of 20 per cent in 1967.

One Year of "Concerted Action"

One year ago the Bonn government and the monopolies, carefully avoiding the real causes of the crisis, began to propagate the alleged equality of interests of workers and employers in overcoming the crisis. "The federal government emphatically confirms its agreement with the council of experts that a policy of controlled expansion which links growth with stability is only possible when it is 'protected by the wage policy'. This necessitates a close cooperation between those state authorities responsible for economic policy and the tariff contractual partners within the framework of a 'concerted action'." (From the comment of the Bonn government on the 1966 annual expertise of the council of experts; German Bundestag, 5th electoral period, printed matter No. V/1313 of 19 January 1967)

The direct aim of the "concerted action" consists in shifting the burdens of the crisis on to the working people and ensuring a new rise in monopoly profits. Already the first "objective" of SPD Minister of Economics Schiller contained the following "orientation data" for 1967:

Change in per cent as compared with the previous year	
Net income of the enterprises	+ 5.5
including: profits not withdrawn	+ 22.2
Net wages and salaries	+ 2.4
(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, No. 46, 6 March 1967)	

According to Schiller's conception the number of employees in 1967 was to be 316,000 below the level of the previous year. In fact it was almost one million lower than in 1966 at the end of September. (Der Volkswirt, No. 43, 27 October 1967, p. 2340)

This is not recorded in the official number of unemployed since it does not contain the reduction in the number of foreign workers, the retirement of old age pensioners from the production process without replacement, etc.

The number of those working people officially registered as being out of work fell in the summer months, it is true, but in September it was still 228,000 higher than in the same month of 1966 (ibid.). Since October it is growing again and rose to 361,000 (Frankfurter Rundschau, No. 259, 7 November 1967). An increase in the unemployment figure to approximately one million in the coming winter months is considered possible. (Die Welt, West Berlin/Hamburg. No. 207, 6 September 1967)

The employers exploited the widespread insecurity of the job to ensure their profits at the expense of wages.

Development of Real Wages in Industry in 1967.

(Changes in per cent as compared with the corresponding period of the previous year)

	Wages per employee	Living costs	Real wages
Ist quarter	+ 0.7	+ 2.2	— 1.4
IInd quarter	— 0.3	+ 1.5	— 1.8
IIIrd quarter	+ 0.1	+ 1.8	— 1.6

(Calculation of the German Institute of Economics)

In reality the incomes of the workers have been reduced still more intensively. The employers began to a considerable extent to lower those parts of wages not safeguarded by tariffs and reduce so-called extra-tariff performances which are not recorded in any wage statistics. In the metal industry alone 445,392 workers were affected by it between January and August according to incomplete inquiries of the Metalworkers' Industrial Union. They had to accept wage cuts of up to 15 and sometimes even up to 20 per cent. (Second White Book on Employer Morality, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1967, pp. 22-23)

The Springer press demagogically maintained that wages and salary reductions were "the suitable method of restoring full employment". (Welt am Sonntag, West Berlin/Hamburg, No. 15, 9 April 1967)

The fear of losing their job induces many workers to continue to work even in case of illness without consideration of injury to health.

"The number of cases of illness has also diminished with the regression of the boom. But what showed itself only as a "sudden change in trend" in the winter has become more than obvious in the first months of the new year: The illness figure is not only falling, it is rushing downwards."

(Industriekurier, Düsseldorf, No. 51, 6 April 1967)

"In the recent period it must be stated that the readiness of the employees to undergo a cure has abated because they fear for their job. Thus the number of insured persons who do not have treatment to restore their health which has been threatened, is much bigger and is growing." (Westfälische Rundschau, Dortmund, No. 137, 16-18 June 1967)

What is really to be thought of the "social symmetry" which was invented by Schiller to

appease the trade unions was sarcastically expressed by *Der Volkswirt* in its edition of 24 February 1967:

"It is the declared intention of the federal government to increase the profits of the employers. And the SPD joins in the game. Social democrat Schiller as federal minister of economics is imposing this policy. This alone is already a historical event."

Conceptions which were cherished in trade union circles at the beginning, according to which the "concerted action" must include orientation data not only for the development of wages but also for profits, met with a hard refusal from the employers' associations. The annual report of the Federal Association of (West) German Industry states: "It should therefore be the sense and purpose of the 'concerted action' that the state and the tariff parties reach agreement on those orientation data which make possible wage policy which is neutral so far as costs are concerned. The chance which lies in this instrument is recognized in the economy. But at the same time the limits of this instrument must be pointed out. If the returns of the enterprises were also included in this concerted action, a big step would already have been taken in the direction of restricting the employers' freedom of investment."

"Industry now as before is of the opinion that this demand is incompatible with our successful economic and social system which relies on private property, competition, readiness to take risks, initiative and liability in civil law." (BDI—Federation of German Industry—*Annual Report 1966–67*, p. 25)

The intention of the monopoly bourgeoisie to shift the points of the future income policy for an entire period along with the "concerted action" also becomes obvious from the forecast of the West German market research institutes according to which the net wage and salary sum will grow by only 1.2 per cent in the first six months of 1968, but the employers' profits will increase by 28.2 per cent (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, Frankfurt-on-Main, No. 235, 10 October 1967). With a likewise predicted rise in prices by 2.2 per cent this would mean a further reduction in real wages.

The danger of a further deterioration of the material situation of the workers is the greater since the monopolies would even strive for a continuation of unemployment under all circumstances even with an increase in business activity.

In case of an improvement of the market situation only a part of those unemployed would

again be involved in the production process as a consequence of the intensified rationalization.

"The other part will no longer be in demand because it does not have the appropriate training or because the question of industrial fitness will be considered more sharply in the future than up to now." (*Die Welt*, West Berlin/Hamburg, No. 204, 2 September 1967)

Alois Wöhrle, 2nd chairman of the Metalworkers' Industrial Union in the DGB, recently made the following statement in view of this situation: "Thus uncertainty will continue to press on many workers and office employees. Worries have not diminished. Moreover, the federal government has not yet explained in detail what it understands by 'social symmetry'. Up to now we only know what is not understood by this concept, namely, the social risk which in the case of economic difficulties is imposed on the employees." (*Der Gewerkschafter*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 10/1967, p. 366)

The function of the "concerted action" not only consists in stopping wage increases in the interest of profits. It also forms a part of the policy of the anti-labour Kiesinger/Strauss government. It is a method corresponding with the style of the right-wing SPD leaders to implement the social-political concept of the CDU/CSU. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote on 18 March 1967 in remarkable frankness: "The question 'What is Schiller's concerted action?' is answered in Bonn by 'Setting Erhard's formed society to music!'"

In the course of the year it became ever clearer that the "concerted action" aims at liquidating the trade unions as a class organization and integrating them in the state monopoly system of rule.

Although the "concerted action" rests on the conceptions of a few right-wing trade union leaders such as Leber, it can be stated that up to now it has not been possible to orient the trade unions on the course of the monopolies. Now as before there are reservations which have been formulated by DGB Chairman Ludwig Rosenberg as follows: "No one can expect us to play a solo in the concerted action which is so much spoken of now, while the others wait." (*Welt der Arbeit*, Cologne, No. 10, 10 March 1967)

The concept is increasingly growing that "concerted action" is not simply a question of the wage policy struggle, but that the workers are confronted here with capitalism as a system. Alois Wöhrle expressed the sentiments of the most progressive force in the West German trade union movement when he stated:

"The economic system is showing its dark side. The employees are blamed for the difficulties, just as in the 19th century. The majority of workers quickly come to understand this. They know that 'recessions' and economic crises with their attending social consequences are almost inevitable under this economic system which the DGB wishes to change according to its basic program . . ."

"We can therefore state that the readiness of the workers to examine the basis of the economic system and not to agree with it is steadily growing. Although fear and apprehension still continue to exist, they no longer hamper the democratic will to resist. The people in the factories are no longer willing to consider this economic system which is oriented on profit and not on social responsibility as reasonable, to accept its attending ills as an unalterable destiny." (*Der Gewerkschafter*, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1967, No. 8, August, page 284)

It is in keeping with the inner logic of the Strauss/Schiller concerted action that the attack against the material conditions of the working class is connected with the destruction of workers' rights and the attack on the trade unions as the only legal class organization. The monopolies, business associations and the parties of the grand coalition therefore confront any demands for the right of co-determination with bitter opposition and combine this with sharp attacks against the trade unions.

The economic council of the CDU therefore sharply attacked any demand for broadening the right of co-determination in their guiding principles which were published in January 1967 in Bonn on the occasion of the CDU/CSU economic conference, and stated:

"Introduction of broader co-determination would necessarily subject wide areas of the economy to the management and control of the trade unions and cause a concentration of power which would negate the necessary balance of forces in this state and society." (*The Economy in Political Responsibility, Guiding Principles*—minutes of the economic conference of the CDU/CSU Bonn, January, 1967, p. 20)

In order to prevent the extension and broadening of co-determination, the employers are now "discovering" their appreciation for the factory constitution, after they themselves in devious ways had impeded the use of this law which is completely inadequate for the interests of the workers.

The *Industriekurier* openly expressed this and advised the employers:

"It would therefore be wise to accept the

factory constitution and shelve all apprehension, no matter how justified and even enforce its application in the factories. This is the only way of diverting the law-makers from their supplementary law on co-determination and the DGB from their co-determination fanaticism." (*Industriekurier*, Düsseldorf, 12 October 1967, No. 155)

After to the promise of the coalition government to set up a commission of "independent experts" to investigate the question of co-determination, the DGB at first adopted a hesitant attitude. The commission is now to carry out the investigation until 1969 and until then any extension of the rights of co-determination is to be prevented. This third class burial of co-determination by the government—the commission has never even met—caused the DGB in the middle of October, to undertake a fresh initiative on the question of co-determination and the alteration of the factory constitution and to demand the extension of co-determination. The criticism of the DGB is mainly directed against SPD Economic Minister, Schiller, who is recognized as the main opponent of the co-determination to which the trade unions aspire." (cf. *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 1st edition, No. 240, 16 October, 1967, page 1).

Causes and Perspectives

The following conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned facts and statements of the official representatives of Bonn's economic policy:

1. The profit and expansionist aims of monopoly capitalism are the credo of this government. Although the present cyclic economic crisis which is connected with structural crises proves that the monopoly capitalist system, even in the form of state monopoly capitalism, cannot overcome the contradictions of capitalism but rather sharpens them, the Bonn government does not pursue a policy of confinement, but rather a policy of the absolute encouragement of monopoly capitalism. The difference to the governments of Adenauer and Erhard lies only in the fact that Kiesinger, Strauss and Schiller are even more rigorously utilizing state finances for a redistribution of the national income in favour of the financial oligarchy and are extending and perfecting the instruments of state monopoly capitalism.

All the measures of the government of the

grand coalition finally serve to strengthen the expansive and aggressive forces of the system. All spheres of the national economy are being more comprehensively subordinated to armament, the striving for domination, the sole representation pretension and the struggle against socialism.

2. There has been no other government in West Germany under which the social and political conditions of the workers have so badly deteriorated. The Bonn government pursues a policy of decreasing real wages and they are reducing social services and intensifying general social insecurity, especially with their economic policy. The consequences of the economic crisis, the risks involved in the technical revolution and the rising cost of expansionism and preparation for aggression are shifted entirely onto the backs of the workers. The West German workers are to be further deprived of their rights by making the trade unions toe the line with the help of the social democratic leaders.

3. The large trusts, banks and employers' associations lay down the guiding lines for this government also. The real political salesman and leading figure of the Kiesinger government is Franz Joseph Strauss. The circles supporting him have entrusted him with the task of realizing the aggressive foreign policy and anti-democratic domestic policy contained in his book *Entwurf für Europa* through the national finances which he controls.

The social democratic ministers in this government are no more than compliant servants of monopoly capital and its political business managers, the CDU/CSU. The old nazi Schiller, as the economic minister, has the special task of checking the struggle of the trade unions and bringing them completely under the domination of the requirements of the state monopoly system.

4. Because of its entire nature, this government is incapable of offering a program which opens the road to a peaceful and socially secure future for the working people in West Germany. Its aim is the consolidation of that system which has always led and still leads to crises and wars. This system can only continue to exist through the sharpening of exploitation and the destruction of the political and social rights of the people. The large monopolies are only capable of existence through massive financial support from the state budget. The year of the grand coalition has convincingly proven the instability and decadence of state monopoly capitalism. The confinement and overcoming of the monopolies is therefore vital.

A solution can only be found if the workers, employees, farmers and the members of the scientific and technical intelligentsia combine their forces and carry out a democratic economic program. Disarmament, greater taxation of the wealthy, employment of economic resources for a peaceful future and comprehensive co-determination of the workers and their organizations in the economy and the society are absolutely necessary for accomplishing this goal.

The Reactionary Internal State Reform and the Dismantling of Democracy

WORDS:

In his government declaration of 13 December 1966 Federal Chancellor Kiesinger declared in the name of the grand coalition:

"We have sworn to devote our strength to the German people, increase their benefits, protect them from injury, protect and defend the constitution and the laws of the Federal Republic and exercise justice towards everybody."

FACTS:

An emergency constitution is to be speedily passed which is to make a military dictatorship on the Greek pattern possible—whenever the ruling forces think this to be necessary.

An anti-democratic law on political parties was adopted and a reactionary electoral law reform which is to ensure the sole rule of the CDU/CSU is being intensively prepared.

A big financial and budget reform is being worked out with which the emergency and enabling legislation is to be put into effect in the financial field.

An economic enabling law camouflaged as "stability law" paralysed the elementary bourgeois-parliamentary rights of the parliament in the field of budget policy.

The Federal Chancellery is being expanded into a new "Führer headquarters" to enable the government as managing committee of monopoly capital in the state apparatus to implement the "master-in-the-house" standpoint of West German monopoly capital rigorously.

General Attack on the Bonn Constitution

A general attack is made on the West German Basic Law (constitution) with the emergency constitution, the big financial and budget reform, the economic enabling law, the law on political parties and the electoral reform law, with the sharpening of political penal law, with a "reform" of the defence constitution and defence legislation and the social reform, in order to orient the social structure of the Federal Republic on the autocracy of the multi-millionaires and their aggressive program of expansion.

More than 80 amendments to the constitution together form the system of the so-called internal state reform with which the West German constitution is to be annulled and a mortal blow dealt to bourgeois democracy.

Each of these steps for the internal formation of the Bonn state and for the militarization of the entire life is in itself threatening and alarming. But taken together, united into a comprehensive coordinated system, these measures of the "internal state reform" mean a dangerous attack against the interests of the West German population and a permanent threat to European peace because the internal prerequisites for external expansion are thus to be created.

After twelve months it is obvious:

—What was called by Kiesinger a "service for the common weal" in order to deceive the people is in reality the stabilization of the power of a dwindling minority of multi-millionaires and their military and revanchist accomplices.

—What was called by Kiesinger "protection of the constitution" is in reality a policy of the brutal breach of the constitution, open treachery to the constitution and a permanent coup d'état.

This government has continued its authoritarian course step by step in the twelve months of its existence.

Conceived by Strauss

This imperialist formation program of the Bonn state was conceived by Strauss in his book *Entwurf für Europa*. In it Strauss demanded:

- "We need better precautions for an emergency legislation . . ."
- "We need a reform of our administrative structure . . ."

- "Our present administrative system is no longer equal to the situation . . . Its reform will bring about a rearrangement of finance and a different distribution of tax revenues between the provincial and federal governments." (pp. 158–160)

Carried through by Brandt and Wehner

The twelve-month balance-sheet of the Kiesinger/Strauss government shows how this policy conceived by Strauss was carried through by the grand coalition. In this field it also becomes obvious that social democratic leaders were admitted to the Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet to provide this policy of treachery to the constitution with the semblance of parliamentary legality.

This handmaid's role of the social democratic ministers had already been set forth by Strauss in his book:

"A grand coalition could carry through a few necessary reforms which are not possible with a different constellation. Just think of the necessity of amending certain articles of our constitution." (p. 158)

Thus the social democratic ministers have not retarded or even prevented this pernicious reactionary development by their participation in the government, as they hypocritically pretend to their members and adherents, but in reality only made it possible. They thereby helped to create the internal prerequisites for the new phase of the expansive foreign policy.

This portentous treason to the 13 million voters for the Social Democratic Party at the 1965 Bundestag elections is cynically confirmed by Kiesinger:

"The grand coalition was only possible because the SPD increasingly approached the CDU in its home and foreign policy program."

"For what is to be done now we need the function of the grand coalition." (*Die Welt*, 10 April 1967)

And the CDU press service of 16 November 1967 triumphs:

"The SPD has thrown its own earlier economic and social political conceptions overboard and approached the conceptions and the policy of the CDU/CSU to the greatest extent."

But despite the social democratic readiness to help, the anti-democratic formation process has not yet developed quickly enough for the big bourgeoisie.

"The fact must be faced: In the first round the grand coalition has not yet gone over the highest hurdles. It must be helped to do so be-

fore the end of the second round." (*Rheinischer Merkur*, 4 August 1967)

At present it is being attempted with hectic haste to rush through emergency powers, electoral law deteriorations and other reactionary measures.

Forcing the Emergency Plans

In the past twelve months the Kiesinger/Strauss government has staged an emergency conspiracy against the West German population which was kept strictly secret with the full approval and active help of the social democratic ministers. The German Democratic Republic has details on how the sudden militarization of all spheres of life and the terrorist suppression of all opposition forces are systematically prepared behind the back of the public.

Irrefutable facts prove this secret emergency conspiracy:

- State representatives intensify examinations of all persons employed in the West German government authorities, offices, administrations, educational institutions and trust enterprises. Personnel files are inspected and some are photostated, "suspicious" persons are registered in a special card index in order to supervise them in "case of emergency and imprison them in "protective custody camps without delay".

- Special identity cards were prepared for the "case of emergency".

These identity cards are valid only for certain areas and zones which the federal citizens must not leave without special permission.

- Lists of inhabitants are available in the main West German registration offices according to which identity marks are to be issued to all citizens on the direction of central government authorities in the "case of emergency".

- At present a so-called emergency currency is stored in the provincial central banks.

- There are 1.5 tons of ration-cards ready in Hesse alone.

These measures are kept strictly secret by the Kiesinger/Strauss government and are unknown to the West German population up to the present day. They do not at all differ in character from what has already become known up to date on the shocking state of emergency practices in West Germany and West Berlin. We recall:

- In the West German trust enterprises, among others, in the Continentalwerke in Hanover,

Henschel in Kassel, Stahlwerk Bochum-AG and in the Adox-Werke in Neu-Isenburg, illegal emergency troops camouflaged as "private industrial police" were discovered in May 1967. They are equipped with pistols and rapid-firing rifles and test the operation "against wildcat strikes and similar things" on the basis of detailed catastrophe plans. The "cadre" of this secret civil war troop which is in "close contact with the criminal investigation departments, the provincial offices for the protection of the constitution (secret police) and all official authorities" is formed by "people with Bundeswehr experience".

The formation of this black Reichswehr of the monopolies took place on the instigation of the Federal Association of (West) German Industry and the Bonn Ministry of the Interior which gave "financial aid" for this purpose.

— On the occasion of the visit of the Persian despot in June 1967 the police arranged terrorist operations in Hamburg, Munich, Bonn and other cities of the Federal Republic and also in West Berlin against peaceful demonstrators which were declared to be emergency exercises. The victim of these anticipated emergency practices was West Berlin student Benno Ohnesorg. But his murderer, senior policeman Kurras who cold-bloodedly shot Ohnesorg was acquitted (!) by a West Berlin court on 21 November 1967.

Thus a fundamental judgment was passed for the planned emergency dictatorship! The police have already been granted the freedom to commit further acts of violence by the law.

The haste of the Kiesinger/Strauss government for the quickest possible passing of the emergency laws and in particular the emergency constitution appears in the correct light against the background of these alarming emergency practices. The intention of finally adopting the emergency laws was one of the main reasons for the formation of the government of the grand coalition. The social democratic ministers were taken into the government to pave the way for passing the emergency laws by strangling the resistance of the trade unions in particular. The fact that the SPD leadership willingly and unscrupulously entered this plot with the CDU/CSU to attack the West German people is at present openly discussed by the big bourgeois press:

"Discussions held at the time when the government was formed envisaged the smooth passage of the draft. The leadership of the SPD had also become disgusted with the fruitless quarrels and determined finally to have

the emergency material off the table." (*Christ und Welt*, 27 October 1967)

In view of this aim it is not surprising that the prolonged resistance to the dictatorial law and in particular the emergency constitution which has increased in recent weeks, has set off angry reactions in the CDU/CSU and their social democratic helpers. This resistance does not fit in with the reactionary internal political conception of "formation" of the West German people in the service of the policy of expansion. For this reason it must be quickly strangled and the people confronted with a fait accompli.

This is what Kiesinger means when he demands with the emergency constitution in view:

"An end must finally be put to this, if only for reasons of internal tranquility." (*Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 10 October 1967) This is also what the Springer paper *Die Welt* means when it wrote on 4 November 1967:

"The Bundestag should have completed the emergency constitution by the end of this legislative period, if further trouble is to be prevented."

The fact that the haste of the Kiesinger/Strauss government over the emergency laws is determined by the aims of power politics of the imperialist groups supporting it was only recently summarized into a short descriptive formula by the parliamentary state secretary in the Federal Chancellery, Freiherr von und zu Guttenberg (CSU):

The emergency constitution is needed in order to "remain masters in our own house even in a crisis". (*Preparation for Emergency? Ten Answers to a Current Problem*, Frankfurt-on-Main and Hamburg, 1967, p. 32)

Guttenberg summarized in a brief formula what Minister of the Interior Lücke said about the internal political aims of the emergency legislation:

"As long as business is good—, as long as we have full employment, this democracy will exist and will not be endangered. But if at any time there are five or six million unemployed . . . we must prepare for *that* moment." (From an interview which Lücke granted to the "Deutschlandfunk", 20 February 1966)

Here it is explained with complete clarity: the emergency laws are compulsory laws against the so-called internal enemy! The internal enemy, however, are the workers in the Federal Republic and their organizations, in particular the trade unions. Their social and political actions are the most dangerous emergency for the ruling circles. This is precisely the reason

why they are in such hectic haste to complete the dictatorial laws in this present period of sharpening internal contradictions and increasing social conflict.

With the emergency laws the West German people are to be chained and at the same time harnessed to the expansionist policy to change the status quo in Europe and to extend the rule of West German imperialism by force.

The emergency laws are laws of war! They are to permit the ruling circles to subordinate all spheres of life to their expansionist policy and to move the preparation of their aggression still further forward in a period of peace. This, too has been clearly expressed and demanded for many years by Bonn's military experts.

Von Hassel stated while he was war minister:

"In a serious situation and without an emergency constitution the armed forces will be faced with problems which will seriously affect the limits of the basis of their existence . . . We, the Bundeswehr, expect parliament to create the legal instruments which would then enable us to fulfil our military mission." (From von Hassel's speech in the emergency law debate, 24 June 1965, in the Bundestag)

The military mission of the Bundeswehr, however, is a fulfilment of the expansionist policy of West German imperialism, the fulfilment of the revanchist graduated program for changing the status quo and extending its rule. Foreign Minister Brandt expressed this quite openly when he wrote that NATO and consequently the Bundeswehr will "solve their military mission only if our political mission is solved." (*Aussenpolitik*, No. 8/1967)

In order to divert the West German people from these basic aims which determine the content of the emergency laws and to cause opponents of the emergency laws, in particular the trade unions, to give up their resistance, the emergency whips of the CDU/CSU and the SPD initiated the so-called Hearings: joint meetings of the internal and legal committees of the Bundestag to "hear experts". Even the Springer newspaper *Die Welt* thought it proper to call a thing by its name after the first such meeting:

"There is a big temptation to compare the emergency hearings with a monstrous play. Not because the much-applauded appearance of the nine chosen expert professors would have done justice to any actor, but because the question contained in the general title of the play about the necessity of an emergency constitution has already been decided and it is just a question of its content, since the actors and their roles in this emergency affair are quite

well known . . . What goes under the name of "hearing experts" was largely shadow boxing between people who in any case knew what to expect of each other, in order to convince a public whose powers of comprehension are overworked, of the correctness of their own views." (*Die Welt*, 11 November 1967)

Here it is admitted: the "Hearings" are no more than an elaborate piece of deception of the CDU/CSU and the SPD leadership to manipulate the West German people and weaken the front of the opponents of the emergency law. The aim was

- to feign a democratic process and give the impression that the arguments of the opponents of the emergency law were being "taken seriously" and "thoroughly investigated";
- to destroy the vanguard of the movement based on the fundamental rejection of any form of emergency law and to switch the whole conflict onto the path of "how";
- to strangle any extra-parliamentary activity and reduce the whole "discussion" to the officially accepted level of the "Hearings".

It is therefore only the reverse side of the coin that trade union officials like Ludwig Rosenberg and Otto Brenner and responsible scientists like Professor Wolfgang Abendroth and Professor Helmut Ridder are being submitted to vicious attacks because of their firm stand against the dictatorship law.

Under the direction of government representatives Benda (CDU) and Ehmke (SPD) as well as committee chairman Wilhelmi (CDU) and Schmitt-Vockenhausen (SPD) their "hearing" turned out to be a regular interrogation, and just as skilful and reprehensible a method was attempted to cast doubt on their democratic opinions and force concessions out of them by use of legal tricks.

This happened because they had destroyed the whole web of lies spun by the CDU/CSU and SPD leaders about the emergency laws with well-substantiated and irrefutable arguments.

This is especially applicable to the most recent deceptive manoeuvre of the CDU/CSU and SPD leadership to mollify the trade unions.

Lücke and Wehner announced loudly: the right to strike will not be affected by the emergency constitution. In order to appear credible it was announced that it would be expressly contained in the emergency regulations so that in case of compulsory obligations a "civil law employment relation" would "arise in the overwhelming majority" of cases. According to this the "workers' rights, including the right to strike, was retained, only the giving of notice is ex-

cluded". (*On the Question of Emergency Law*, published by the SPD Party Executive, p. 51)

Otto Brenner spoke the truth when he showed:

"The rights of employees are in no way guaranteed in case of service obligations, as they would like to have believed . . .

"The purpose and sense of these service obligations lead to the suspicion that in practice they are to be carried out in the form of a service relationship in public law. Indeed it is envisaged in the new draft that the employment relation of the obligated worker should be in line with tariff and enterprise agreements of the new enterprise—§ 13 clause 1.—here, however, the workers are subjected to tariff agreements by legal compulsion and this turn tariff agreements into tariff regulations. Tariff autonomy is thereby abolished.

"The penal regulations of the Work Security Law § 32 confirm this interpretation:

"According to § 32 clause 1 of the Work Security Law anyone who leaves his place of work without a valid reason or stays away from his place of work, or anyone who persistently refuses to carry out a task which has been entrusted to him and is reasonable and which serves the purpose of defence, will be punished with up to one year of imprisonment or with a fine. Since strikes are, according to present labour jurisdiction, illegal actions which can only be justified by the criterion of social adequacy, then it is quite easy to conclude that any strike can be punished according to these penal regulations in practice in a case of emergency.

"Thus the untenability of the argument that the right to strike is ensured within the present emergency draft laws is exposed".

Otto Brenner expressly states: there has been no change in the fact that with the emergency constitution that "nearly the whole working life in the administration and economy can be militarized in case of emergency according to the wishes of the executive. A truly dismal perspective!"

At present an especially skilful deceptive manoeuvre is being introduced in connection with the so-called "secret drawer laws". It is well-known that the GDR made public the existence and content of more than 60 secret emergency regulations at international press conferences on 2 May and 29 June 1966. At first Bonn's Minister of the Interior Lücke denied their existence, only to admit later that some people became "a bit pale" when they read these emergency regulations.

In June 1967 the SPD top leadership, in confidential agreement with Lücke, gave assur-

ances that the secret-drawer laws would all be submitted to the Bundestag for ratification. However, when at the end of October five new drafts for so-called simple emergency laws had been passed by the Kiesinger cabinet, it was suddenly stated that the secret-drawer laws had thereby become superfluous. Lücke announced, "there are no longer any secret-drawer laws". And Helmut Schmidt confirmed: The secret-drawer laws are "outdated" and "of no further importance".

This is a downright lie! Here a perfidious game is being played to defeat the objections and protests of the opponents of the state of emergency.

What is really going on behind the scenes? A strictly secret directive has been worked out as a result of coalition agreements between Kiesinger, Lücke, Wehner and Brandt which were prepared by the parliamentary state secretaries Benda (CDU) and Ehmke (SPD).

Their main content:

1) The revision of the so-called state of emergency laws (security and protection laws) which were passed by the Bundestag already in 1965 is speedily completed. *The submission of the supplementary laws is connected with the argument that the drawers are emptied.*

2) Through a decree of the federal government to the provinces, the so-called secret-drawer laws—consisting of a total of 78—are declared to be *formally useless*.

3) The authorizations provided in the emergency regulations—which are available in print and jointly determined with the western allies—and other measures, however, are indispensable for the execution of the state of emergency regulations provided in the emergency constitution. *They therefore remain the basis of further emergency planning and the preparation of all necessary measures*, the more so since the five new drafts for the security laws embrace but a small part of the entire matter of the 78 emergency regulations.

4) *In a modified form—under adaptation to the present conception of the emergency constitution, especially to the institution of the Joint Committee—the secret-drawer laws will become fully and completely valid as German implementing regulations of the emergency constitution.*

5) It is especially provided not to give up the following emergency regulations under any conceivable developments:

— Emergency regulation on the Federal Frontier Troops

- Emergency regulation on measures in the field of jurisdiction
- Emergency regulation on the alteration and supplementation of the penal defence law
- Emergency regulation on the introduction of the penal defence court order
- Emergency regulation on the completion of the prize regulation in the case of armed conflict with the “Soviet occupied zone”
- Emergency regulation on the treatment of enemy property
- Emergency regulation on measures in the field of property and transport taxes
- Emergency regulation on the powers of the authorities for the protection of the constitution (Secret Police) and the federal investigation office
- Emergency regulation on administration in the Federal Republic
- Emergency decree on the regulation of the residence of the civilian population

Thereby it is clear:

Now as before, quite a bundle of dictatorship authorization lies in the Bonn safes with which the powers of police, protection of the constitution and the Federal Frontier Troops are extended for the rigorous suppression of the working people and by which “custody camps” are set up, emergency justice extended, financial burdens on the working people increased and other anti-democratic measures are to be taken.

Now as before, these secret-drawer laws are being worked on and they are to be used for implementing the general stipulations of the emergency constitution.

And the SPD ministers join in this very refined game. When they publicly speak of “emptying the drawers”, this is only a further confirmation of their disgraceful role.

Strauss already wrote in his book *Entwurf für Europa* (Design for Europe):

“We need better precautions for emergency legislation, a question in whose balanced solution the social democrats in particular should cooperate in government responsibility.” (Page 160)

The SPD ministers unrestrictedly fulfil this function as handmaidens of the CDU/CSU. As in all questions of foreign and domestic expansive policy, they clearly transact the business of the monopoly bourgeoisie also in the emergency question.

They have not only completely given in to the thoroughly reactionary policy of the CDU/CSU as the leading monopoly party, but they have also made its realization their own affair and shrink from nothing in doing so.

Manipulation of the Election Law and the Reactionary Law on Political Parties

The so-called reform of the election law constitutes an essential part of the “internal state reform” enacted by the Kiesinger/Strauss government, which has extraordinarily farreaching consequences.

In his Government Declaration of 13 December 1966 Kiesinger expressly and with the full approval of the social democratic ministers proclaimed the reactionary formation of the election law as part of the government program; this was a move which the leading CDU/CSU government circles and those of the SPD around Wehner had been striving to promote for many years. In his words, the present legislative period was under all circumstances “to see the constitutional establishment of a new election law, enabling clear majorities in future elections of the (West) German Bundestag after 1969 . . . The government is examining the means to introduce a transitional election law for the Bundestag elections in 1969.”

The core of that intended electoral reform is the introduction of the majority vote. It is furthermore envisaged to extend the legislative period of the Bundestag from four to five years, and to make the time of the elections of all provincial parliaments of the Federal Republic uniform.

At the present time the CDU/CSU is not only pressing for accelerated measures to whip through this project, but is even proclaiming a course which goes beyond the aims mentioned in the Government Declaration at the beginning of the Kiesinger/Strauss government. Thus, contrary of the Government Declaration, the majority vote is to be introduced already at the Bundestag elections in 1969. The Springer paper *Die Welt* admitted:

“Unanimity was obtained on that point at a meeting of parliamentary group leaders, also attended by Federal Chancellor Kurt Georg Kiesinger. Meanwhile the view of the executive has been applauded by the entire CDU/CSU parliamentary group.” (*Die Welt*, 17 November 1967)

This was expressly confirmed by Bundestag President Gerstenmaier:

"I do not see any advantages in a transitional election law for the next elections, which would have to be replaced by another election law at the elections after that . . . If there is the serious intention at all to introduce a new election law with the aim of having two big parties, then this should be done with the least delay." (*ibid.*)

What Are the Backgrounds?

Previous election practices in Bonn show that under the conditions of the omnipotence of the monopolies there is no genuinely democratic formation of opinion and free decisions of the people. According to article 38, clause 1 of the Constitution, deputies are to be elected to the Bundestag "in general, direct, free, equal and secret elections". In practice, however, these bourgeois-democratic election principles have been increasingly undermined, and elections have been increasingly degraded into a means of the apparently democratic legitimation of the imperialist system of power in Bonn which is hostile to the people. In this connection Professor Karl Jaspers stated:

"Even the elections are not really elections, but an acclamation of the oligarchy of parties." (K. Jaspers, *Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik*, p. 131)

Even the small possibilities of exerting an influence left to the West German voters have now become irksome to the Kiesinger/Strauss government and its social democratic ministers. That is why the election reform is to continue to deprive the voters of political rights to an even further extent.

The Springer paper *Die Welt* openly commented on the intended prolongation of the legislative period of the Bundestag:

"The government should not always have to keep one eye, on the elections if unpopular decisions have to be taken." That is an admission of the reason why Strauss would like to see the extension of the legislative period to "at least five years", and why Gerstenmaier openly pleaded for an extension to six years. The Kiesinger/Strauss government intends to avoid the vote of the electorate for as long as possible. That is why it is steering towards a direct breach of the provisions of Article 38 of the Basic Law, according to which the Bundestag is to be elected once in four years.

Since it is unable, for reasons of the illusory democratic guise of the "formed rule" of monopoly capitalism, simply to do away with elections altogether, an election law is to be estab-

lished which is capable of safeguarding the system of state monopoly power against genuine opposition influences, misusing the elections to an even greater extent as a means of manipulating and falsifying the will of the electorate under the cover of a formally democratic procedure. That is the true intention behind the moves to introduce the majority vote.

According to West German press reports, the government draft to be endorsed by the cabinet at the beginning of January envisages the introduction of a "simple majority election law". To begin with the term itself is misleading; for the so-called majority vote in fact constitutes a minority election law, because the largest percentage of votes will be swept aside entirely unnoticed. FDP Deputy Mischnick aptly remarked that "even the term 'majority vote' is incorrect, since the simple majority voting system proposed will mean that in many constituencies the elected candidate is only supported by the minority of voters. The largest number of votes as a whole will suffice for a candidate to be elected." (*Die Welt*, 16 November 1967)

The reasons advanced by the CDU/CSU and the SPD leaders in substantiation of their proposal to introduce a simple majority vote are also misleading.

It is asserted that the simple majority vote was necessary in order to obtain a "stable government majority" and an "operative opposition".

The true motives were clearly revealed in the following statements:

In 1963 Professor Unkelbach, one of the leading supporters of the simple majority vote, had stated that proportional representation had a similar effect on "parliamentary democracy as that exerted by a virus on the living organism. This conclusion does not contradict the fact that the virus is not always virulent. If there are no particular tensions, or if smaller countries are concerned, parliamentary democracy may function more or less even with proportional representation. As soon as economic set-backs, social, personnel or other crises occur, however, proportional representation may contribute to dividing parties, disintegrating them and obstructing or destroying the efficiency of parliament". (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 7 January 1963)

What in the above quoted statement was clad in a pseudoscientific garb, was boiled down to the following formula at the "1967 Germany Meeting" of the "Junge Union" organization:

"The election law in force is a fair weather system. Only the simple majority vote will deprive radical groups of all chances to be effective."

What does this mean? Lücke pointed to the

NPD and alleged that he supported the simple majority vote as a means of preventing its entry into the Bundestag. Alex Möller, one of the most ardent supporters of the simple majority vote among the SPD leaders, sang the same tune in motivating this change in the election law with his reference to the "growth of the NPD in the recent period". (*Die Welt*, 8 November 1967)

That can only be described as shameless demagoguery and a conscious attempt to mislead the West German public. All this talk is given the lie by the fact that an openly neo-Nazi party is allowed to exist "legally" and to participate in elections, by the fact that the Kiesinger/Strauss government, including its social democratic ministers, have done nothing during these past twelve months to establish the unconstitutional character of that party.

West German publicist Dr. Arno Klönne quite correctly pointed out that "the destiny of that party (or rather the destiny of West German democracy) does not depend on manipulations of the election law, but on the circumstance of whether the causes of the NPD successes are to remain or are to be eliminated. If the latter is not done the NPD will also take the hurdle of simple majority vote.

"If we had had the simple majority vote under the Weimar Republic, the Nazi party in those days would have come to power even earlier. The question also arises as to whether NPD deputies in parliament would be more dangerous than the CDU/CSU, which takes over the policy of the NPD with a view to catching the votes of NPD-adherents. Moreover, Wehner and Lücke thought of the simple majority vote at a time when the NPD had not even appeared on the horizon." (*Die Tat*, 17 December 1966)

This was written a year ago. Today these tactics, revealed by Arno Klönne, are being openly proclaimed by their CDU/CSU exponents. Thus Gerstenmaier expressly emphasized that "the CDU would have to be ready, on the introduction of a new election law, to offer a political home to everything to the right of the SPD." (*AP*, 16 November 1967)

This constitutes an open demand for the further intensification of the right-wing course, and the direct propagation of an election alliance of the CDU/CSU with the openly neo-Nazi NPD.

It is not the NPD, therefore, which is to be deprived "of all chances" of becoming "effective" by the electoral reform, but the democratic forces; it is the opposition movements for peace, social security and democratic progress which are developing in the Federal Republic, which

are being slandered as "radical groups" and are to be silenced.

This was confirmed by Lücke, speaking on 24 November to CDU circles at Kleve, when he justified the electoral reform by the "danger" that at the next Bundestag elections "the German Peace Union (DFU) might considerably increase the share of its votes".

This was confirmed by the official CDU/CSU press service, referring to the increase in votes for the DFU at the elections of the provincial parliament in Bremen:

"The election results at Bremen should last but not least be considered as new evidence of the need for an election law which will create a clear majority. (*Deutschland-Union-Dienst*, 3 October 1967)

The CDU/CSU and its SPD helpers around Wehner and Helmut Schmidt are not only concerned about the DFU. The sharpening of political and social conflicts in North Rhine-Westphalia, the determination of the metalworkers in Baden-Württemberg and Hesse, the powerful strike action of the Hessian rubber workers in defence of their basic social rights, the growing opposition movement among working-class youth and students, and not least the growing resistance to the emergency legislation among all sections of the population are gravely alarming to them. All these symptoms are moving the ruling imperialist circles to go even beyond the scope of the original plans, and to seek to establish the reactionary simple majority vote already for the 1969 Bundestag elections.

This shows that the decisive motive of the accelerated effort to establish the simple majority vote is the ruling imperialist circles' fear of a democratic movement which will inevitably form as a result of the further sharpening of the internal contradictions. The electoral reform is to be the political barrier protecting the state monopolistic mechanism of power against possible democratic influences, preventing the emergence of an opposition democratic party in the Bundestag.

Lücke stated with cynical bluntness:

"I make no secret of the fact that a functioning democracy is more important to me than a highly dubious justice." (*Christ und Welt*, 10 March 1967)

What is here described as "functioning democracy", is in truth the two-party system to be set up with the aid of a reactionary impairment of the election law—"reliably protected" from democratic influences and entirely adapted to the requirements of the safeguarding of monopoly power.

What is here described as "functioning democracy" is in truth the exclusive power of the CDU/CSU.

It may therefore be generally concluded, that the reactionary amendment to the election law is immediately directed against the constitutional rights of the West German population; it is to prevent the process of the formation of democratic forces, excluding every possibility for the representatives of a democratic alternative policy becoming effective in parliament, and guaranteeing the exclusive and permanent power of the CDU/CSU.

In order to achieve that aim, an additional instrument was provided in the form of the *reactionary law on political parties* already passed. This was conceived as a further barrier against the rise and development of democratic parties, and at the same time as an instrument to shield the government parties against democratic influences. By means of that law these parties, including the SPD leaders, are to be tied down even more firmly to their function of excluding the people from the opportunity to form political opinions that could influence state decisions, wholly in conformity with the concept of Strauss:

"The present political parties in Germany should be aware of the fact that they are only the means to an end ... The parties are completely and wholly a part of a parliamentary democracy, but they are only entitled to exist of their scientific, technical, sociological, diplomatic and strategic thinking corresponds to the political realities of the present." (*Entwurf für Europa*, p. 160–161)

This clearly expresses the idea that in the Federal Republic only those parties are "entitled to exist" which unconditionally commit themselves to the imperialist graduated program of expansion in foreign policy and "formation" in the interior. The enforcement of these aims is the declared goal of the Kiesinger/Strauss government; electoral reform and the law on political parties are their instruments.

The SPD election law expert Alex Möller speculated in his eloquent plea for the simple majority vote on the "chance of a change of government, the exchange of roles between the two major parties". (*Die Welt*, 8 November 1967)

In truth the Social Democratic Party will at any rate be the loser. A year ago, Professor Hennis, another protagonist of the simple majority vote, had written: "The CDU will in its overwhelming majority dismiss the SPD as soon as it is given a chance to rule alone. And it will be quite right!" (*Die Zeit*, 16 December 1966)

This is precisely what the CDU/CSU spokesmen are openly proclaiming today.

CDU General Secretary Heck:

"We want the simple majority vote, and therefore no coalition at all after 1969, but responsibility for the government." (*Die Welt*, 19 November 1967)

CDU executive member Dufhues:

"The CDU is determined to go into the election campaign without its hands tied and to emerge from it with an absolute majority. (AP, 24 November 1967)

The "big financial reform"—the graduated program for financing the expansionist policy

West German imperialism has developed a long-term program of economic and financial-political expansion which aims at economically and politically ensuring an aggressive policy, fully in the spirit of the strategic conception described in the first part of this documentation.

The president of the West German Bundestag, Gerstenmaier, stated even before the formation of the grand coalition:

"Money has largely replaced aggressive weapons. A state which does not want to completely depend on the illusion of automatic recognition of its legal claims, must constantly decide to take initiatives which cost money, a great deal of money." (*Industriekurier*, 2 July 1966)

In his government statement, Kiesinger explained this aim with the words:

"We must succeed in regaining lost financial margin for our political decisions."

The ruling imperialist circles base their argument on the fact that the desired increase in the efficiency of the monopolistic economy, the mobilization of all financial resources and the redistribution of the national income to the detriment of the working people and advantage of the monopolies and armament, cannot be accomplished with the hitherto existing state monopolistic instruments. In the course of "the internal state reform" therefore, the mechanism of state monopolistic control and direction must be adapted to the new phase of the expansionist policy and all bourgeois parliamentary constitutional principles which impede bureaucratic centralized regimentation in the economic and financial fields are to be abolished.

In this respect decisive changes have already been completed through the so-called *Stabilization Law* which was passed by the Bundestag on 10 May 1967. Thus e.g. parliament in fact repealed the constitutional principle of article 109 according to which the federation and the provinces are "self-determining and independent of each other in their budgets" by "changing the constitution" in the interest of a strictly centralized regimentation of the financial policy reaching to the last local authority. At the same time, the Bundestag inadvertently completed a further step in weakening its own power through the fact that it abandoned the elementary parliamentary right to tax legislation and empowered the government to tighten the tax screws by the way of legal regulations.

The "medium-term financial planning", including the so-called second eventuality budget, which represented the greatest raid on the workers wallets to date and burdened them with an increased load of over 24 thousand million marks for the period up to 1971, is the continuation of this reactionary line. It not only leads to "a fundamental change of the budget and expenditure structure" (Strauss), but at the same time to the creation of new instruments with whose help absolute financial dictatorship will be installed step by step. This especially includes the "financial planning council" announced by Kiesinger, which is to subject the West German provinces to the banner of an "essential mutual agreement" on "medium-term financial planning". (*Das Parlament*, 13 September, 1964)

The *big financial reform* is intended as a preliminary step to complete the reactionary construction of the state apparatus in the economical and financial-political fields and set up a tight system of financial plunder of the people in the interest of the expansionist policy. In its consequences it goes far beyond financial questions in the narrow sense. Its protagonists—as e.g. the former ministerial director and present director of the Esso Oil Company, Fischer-Menshausen—openly state:

"We are not concerned here with financial-technical questions such as the redistribution of taxes within this trisectional state (i.e. different forms of taxation for workers in industry and offices, the middle classes and the industrialists), but rather with fundamental state-political and state-organisational questions." (Report from the Federal Association of German Industry, No. 5A, 20–21 May 1967, p. 30)

Bundestag member Hans Müller-Hermann (CDU) wrote the following in the *Deutschland-*

Union-Dienst of the CDU/CSU on 11 September 1967:

"The CDU/CSU Bundestag fraction considers the financial reform to be one of the most important tasks of the grand coalition; indeed it sees one of the most basic justifications for the grand coalition in guaranteeing the Bundestag and Bundesrat majority necessary for *constitutional changes*".

In actual fact the "big financial reform" represents an extraordinarily far-reaching attack on the West German constitution. It destroys constitutional distribution of the functions of power, the federated state structure and local self-administration in their essence and aims at the establishment of a dictatorial regime with bureaucratic centralized power, to which even the smallest local authority will be unconditionally subordinated.

The draft of the financial program which the Kiesinger/Strauss government accepted on 19 July 1967,—it primarily affects the federal-provincial relationship and at the same time leaves the preparation of the local financial reform temporarily open—offers proof of this:

1. By means of "administrative agreement on the cooperation of the federal government and the provinces in financing public projects", a "consolidation" of their sphere of work is to be effected. In reality the actual aim is to place the financial power of the provinces more firmly in the service of the overall expansionist policy of Bonn. According to § 2 of the Administrative agreement, the provinces must participate "to an appropriate extent" in the financing of the so-called public projects, e.g., the "promotion of foreign relations" and the "All-German tasks". The costs of Bonn's revanchist and neo-colonialist foreign policy and the intensified campaign of hate against the GDR will therefore, more rigorously than before be shifted onto the provinces.

2. It is intended to establish so-called joint projects in a new article, 91a, of the constitution, which is based on "joint planning and financing" by the federation and the provinces. This is to proceed under the banner of "cooperative federalism" and is supposedly caused by the requirements of the "modern industrial society". The truth is that the unchecked profit and power hunger of the monopolies is the motivating force.

While the scientific and technical revolution requires objective decisions within the entire social framework on a democratic basis and the forming of democratic public opinion both at the central and local level, this constitutional

restructuring aims at perfecting bureaucratic-reactionary centralization. Through Article 91a, the government can arbitrarily declare focal points of its expansionist program to be "joint projects" and utilize the organs of the provinces and their finances for their realization; on the other hand, it is thereby empowered to withdraw the constitutional rights of the provinces at any time and completely subordinate them.

3. This bureaucratic centralization is to be completed by a thorough-going change of the competency for tax legislation. Among other things it is envisaged that through the new version of Article 105 of the constitution the right to participate in legal legislation, which has hitherto been limited, will be achieved by the federation for the whole general taxation law. Thus the sole competency of the provinces for taxation in a locally limited sphere has been removed and the door opened to the centralized power of Bonn for an unlimited system of authority in the field of taxation policy.

At the same time the federal government's share of the total taxation fund is to be drastically increased through a redistribution of the sources of taxes between the federal government, the provinces and the communities. This whole ingenious and consciously stipulated system of changes which also especially includes the planned local financial reform, aims at robbing the heavily indebted provinces and communities of their financial sources and channelling them into Bonn's armament budget.

Thus the "big financial reform" has in fact proven to be emergency and empowering legislation in the field of economic and financial policy.

Construction of the Chancellor's Dictatorship

A component part of the "internal state reform" consists in so "forming" the immediate government apparatus that it fulfils the requirements of monopoly rule in the spirit of the scientific and technical revolution and of the new phase of the conflict between socialism and imperialism. The basic tendency here consists in the transfer of the dictatorial, managerial methods practised in monopolistic economy, to the state mechanism. The legal correlation of this is the demand for the application of the so-called

directional competence of the federal chancellor as "the most important constitutional function of leadership" (*Die Welt*, 25 January 1967) which advocates a system of unlimited dictatorship by the chancellor.

The conception of this reactionary line was already outlined in the CDU plan of the "formed society" in 1965. The new factor now consists in the forcing of its practical realization with a bundle of personal and structural measures.

Central to this is the extension of the chancellor's office to a command and leadership centre for a totalitarian chancellorship. This is to take place mainly on three levels:

1. through the extension of the traditional bureaucratic apparatus to a control centre of the head of government over the activity of all the ministries. Under the strict leadership of the official secretary of state, two large departments for coordination and control are to supervise the current work for the fulfilment of government decisions and the observance of government directives in the individual ministries. As his exemplary model, Kiesinger has in mind the term of office of the Nazi official and Adenauer confidant Globke, who had formed a "government within the government" by means of a staff of trusted confidants in the ministries. Now the CDU-man and former secretary of state in the War Ministry, Carstens, will fill this role. He is to particularly ensure that the Christian Democratic political principles are carried out in the ministries held by SPD ministers. Generally, due to these control officials placed over all ministers the ministerial posts become structurally weakened to the advantage of the federal chancellor's authority.

2. through the establishment of the planning staff. This "instrument of leadership for establishing the directional competence of the chancellor" is supposed to place the findings of modern science in the service of Bonn's expansionist policy through the briefest and most effective methods. The "intended aim" of the planning staff was clearly outlined by one of its initiators, the military policy expert of the CSU, Prince Konstantin von Bayern: To investigate in stages how the aim of a greater Europe under West German hegemony could be established as a basis for changing the present status quo. The individual departments of the Germany Planning Staff, foreign and security policy, economy and finance, social policy, structural questions of internal policy and science, technology and research, must elaborate various methods in their special fields "for putting the

statesman-like vision of the government declaration into political practice".

The regulation and planning departments of the individual ministries are obligated to constantly cooperate with the planning staff. Through this the Federal Chancellor, Kiesinger, is informed in advance about all the undertakings of his ministers, even before they are applied, and he can interfere with any development which he finds undesirable by making early use of his powers of directional competence. Through this measure the maneuverability of the SPD ministers in particular is limited and the chancellor is safe from "unwanted surprises".

3. through the further formation of the press and information office. Intensified manipulation of public opinion in keeping with the directives of the Kiesinger/Strauss cabinet is planned through functional and structural changes in the press and information office of the federal government. The Ribbentrop diplomat and former superior of Kiesinger in the Nazi Foreign Ministry, ministerial director Diehl, has been installed as the new head. The financial resources of the propaganda office of the government have also been substantially increased in the 1968 budget.

With this reorganization of the federal chancellor's office into the decisive control centre of power, the Kiesinger/Strauss government in accordance with their program of internal state reform and external expansion, is aiming at the chancellor's complete dictatorship for the preparation and enforcement of a system of forced rule in the interest of the West German monopolists.

A further expression of the accelerated execution of the totalitarian ruling mechanism is the formation of five cabinet committees for "industry", "medium-term financial planning", "science and research", "internal German relations" and the establishment of a "federal defence council".

The most important political decisions for carrying out the profit and expansion policy of the big monopolies are made within the narrow confines of these internal bodies.

In the cabinet committees for "industry" and "medium-term financial planning", those laws and measures are being prepared which will increase the profits of the big shareholders in the economic and financial field and the social insecurity and exploitation of the working people.

In the cabinet council for "internal-German relations", the new methods for the forced

execution of the revanchist sole representation presumption and the struggle against the GDR will be coordinated.

In the "defence council", the economic, scientific-technical, political and ideological measures are being summarized from the standpoint of military strategy. In this cabinet council, e.g., the conclusions drawn by Bonn's military men from Israel's military aggression against the Arab states were "completed" and the graduated plan for overcoming the status quo in Europe was established. This war council includes War Minister Schröder (as deputy chairman), Foreign Minister Brandt, Minister of the Interior Lücke, Finance Minister Strauss, Economic Minister Schiller, the inspector general of the Bundeswehr, as well as the state secretaries of the federal president's office, the chancellor's office and the press office.

Kiesinger is the chairman of all the cabinet committees. The management is completely in the hands of the chancellor's office. The coordination, control and information of this whole system of a "government within a government" is in the hands of the inveterate anti-communist and intimate of Strauss, Freiherr von und zu Guttenberg, who blatantly declared: "The aim and tasks of the foreign policy must be the end of the SED regime without any compromise." (*Der Spiegel*, 24 April 1967, p. 54)

Under this far-reaching power of the cabinet committees and the federal chancellor's office, the individual ministers are strictly bound by the instructions of the federal chancellor. This is especially valid for the social democratic ministers. In order to leave no doubt about this, the general secretary of the CDU, Heck, declared at the conference of the Junge Union on 18 November 1967:

"We know, and the people also know, that principles of this policy of the federal chancellor are determined by our federal chancellor."

At the same congress Kiesinger elaborated on this with the words:

"The driving force of the grand coalition and the guiding force of this coalition is and remains the CDU."

The reverse side of this whole system for forming the apparatus of government, which further includes the reform of the rights of officials and of the administrative structure, is the complete retreat from bourgeois parliamentarianism. Even such a compliant parliament as the West German Bundestag, which willingly gave up its constitutional rights and functions in the past and acted as a cover for the in-

creasing concentration of power in the hands of the executive, is now openly by-passed and blatantly disrespected in order to forestall all possible "disruptive elements" in advance.

The debate on the so-called medium-term financial planning exposed what parliamentary practice would be like in the new phase of state monopoly rule. It is reduced to an unconditional *carte blanche* for the government to intensify the policies of expansion. On 6 September 1967 at the Bundestag special session, Strauss categorically stated that the Bundestag can "make no basic change" in the so-called outline plan. The result of the "debate" was that the majority of the parliament blindly voted for the curtailment plan without knowing anything of its details. Springer's paper *Die Welt*, sneeringly reported on 7 September:

"What the Bundestag offered its voters yesterday was a dry ski-course. The members of both coalition parties did make some skiing motions, but for real movement they had no snow."

This is by no means an isolated example.

On 13 November, the committee for social policy announced that it was "...empowered by the federal government to prepare the increase of the contribution of pensioners to their pension sickness insurance by two per cent because of the effects of the finance revision law". In addition the committee has "been authorized by the federal government to take all necessary measures for the new organization of the contributions and the extension of insurance obligation..."

Eight days later an information bulletin of the Federal Ministry of Labour stated: "In accordance with the basic decisions of the committee for social policy of the German Bundestag, the following new regulations in the pension insurance of workers and employees come into force effective from 1 January 1968..."

This means that in complete violation of the constitutional authority of parliament, measures have been taken which affect more than 80 per cent of the West German population and place new burdens on them by utilizing the unconstitutional "basic decisions" of a compliant committee.

This example needs no further commentary, since it graphically proves how even the most bourgeois parliamentary concepts are being trodden underfoot by the Kiesinger/Strauss government and their accomplices, the social democratic ministers.

The "internal state reform" therefore, proves to be a program with the help of which the state monopoly ruling system is to be adapted to the

changed conditions and the expansionist policy both at home and abroad. With it West German imperialism intends to solve its contradictions, mobilize all its resources in order to wage a long-term struggle for changing the status quo in Europe by means of economic expansion, ideological diversion, political and military force.

Therefore, the internal state reform is anti-democratic, anti-social, militaristic and peace-endangering, contrary to international law and anti-national.

The internal state reform is anti-democratic because it systematically deprives the people of their rights and restrains them legally, paralyzes parliament and finally excludes it, strangles every democratic movement and liberal impulse and creates all possibilities, especially to prevent the activity of the trade unions by force.

The internal state reform is anti-social because it shifts the consequences of the capitalist economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working people, increases exploitation and dismantles social services, in order to ensure rising profits for the monopolies and finance the constantly growing armament production.

The internal state reform is militaristic and a danger to peace because it subordinates all citizens and the whole of public life to a militaristic policy which serves the development of the armament and war industry, makes revanchism a state doctrine and insidiously manipulates the thinking of the people along anti-communist and chauvinistic lines.

The internal state reform is against international law because, according to the statute of the International Military Tribunal (Article 6) all measures which serve the preparation, introduction and execution of aggression are crimes against peace. Fascist Minister of the Interior Frick, who was the architect of Hitler's Enabling Act, was executed in Nuremberg for these crimes.

The internal state reform is anti-social because it binds the West German Federal Republic to a reactionary social past, continues to widen the breach between the two German states and makes any progressive solution of the German question impossible.

The reasons for this policy are to be sought in the fact that in West Germany the past has not been overcome and the policy of the cold war and war preparation at home and abroad, which, against all reason, had already been practised under Adenauer and Schumacher, has been continued.

What Do the West German People Need?

They need not fewer but more rights. They do not need the complete exclusion of all forms of political co-determination but a decisive influence on Bonn government policy. They need no compulsory measures which will lead to emergency and the complete elimination of their rights, but democratic rights which will prevent the emergency. They need no Americanization of their life, but the humanization of politics. They need no internal state reform which strengthens the position of the big capitalist monopolies and the reactionary forces allied with them and which increases the threat to peace. What they need is the democratic reorganization of the economy, state and politics which has been demanded by many people. Only thus, by getting rid of armament capital, will there be democratic rights, economic security and relationships of peaceful coexistence between the two German states and between all the states of Europe.

Balance and Way Out

The facts show that the balance sheet of the grand coalition in Bonn is negative in every respect. What the 14th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany had established immediately after the formation of the grand coalition has proved to be correct:

The entire program of the new Bonn government—despite the existence of a number of social democratic ministers—represents the essentially revanchist and socially reactionary program of a marked right-wing course in its envisaged internal and external policy.

The pact of the social democratic ministers with Strauss and Kiesinger is expressed in foreign policy as the continuation and extension of the revanchist course directed against peace and European security, and in home policy as support of an attempt to stabilize state monopoly capitalism, whereby democratic rights are to be radically curtailed with the further development of the "formed rule".

Under the Kiesinger/Strauss government the striving of West German imperialism to expand the sphere of its power, for hegemony in Europe and for the abolition of the status quo has not changed, but undergone a dangerous intensification. West Germany has been comprehensively included in the imperialist global strategy of struggle against socialism, freedom, independence and national sovereignty, in particular as a result of the consultations conducted by West German Chancellor Kiesinger and by his social democratic Foreign Minister Brandt with US President Johnson. This intensification is particularly clearly manifested in the intensification of the aggressive sole representation pretension and in the hostile attitude towards the German Democratic Republic.

All proposals advanced by the GDR for the normalization of relations, for the conclusion of an agreement on the renunciation of the use of force, for agreements against atomic armament and for reductions in armament have been rejected by the Kiesinger/Strauss government. Regardless of the thesis of a "new" eastern policy—spread by a great propaganda campaign—the Kiesinger/Strauss government stubbornly refuses to recognize the existing frontiers in Europe, thus remaining the major troublemaker threatening peace and security in Europe.

Intent on liquidating the GDR and changing the status quo in Europe to its advantage,

- the Bonn government resists all genuine moves for relaxation and disarmament;
- directs incessant attacks against the atomic weapons non-proliferation agreement, strives

for atomic weapons and rejects a European security system;

- makes every effort to continue the further development and consolidation of NATO and the EEC with a view to imposing its will on the states of Western Europe and committing them to its own expansionist concept;
- concludes alliances within the scope of the American global strategy with aggressors and dictators all over the world and supports them with a view to suppressing and checking the striving of the peoples for freedom, independence and social progress.

Because the Kiesinger/Strauss government intends to liquidate the GDR and change the status quo in Europe to its advantage,

- the democratic provisions of the Constitution are to be annulled in the Federal Republic by means of "internal state reforms", and to be replaced by a rigidly centralized, dictatorial emergency regime of monopoly capitalism;
- the vast armament burden arising from such a policy is being shifted onto the shoulders of the working population, the social situation of the workers is allowed to deteriorate, and the existence of millions of workers is constantly being threatened by increasing unemployment, short time work, wage freezes, curtailment of social benefits and rising taxes, prices and rents;
- the Kiesinger/Strauss government is presenting a new edition of the old Hitler policy, relying on the experiences of active nazi specialists.

Opposition to the Policy of Bonn is Growing among All Sections of the Population

This general offensive against the social standards and the democratic rights of West German citizens, resulting from the non-recognition of the GDR and the revanchist policy aimed at changing the status quo in Europe, as well as from the general crisis of the capitalist system, is calling forth growing misgivings and opposition among all sections of the population. Trade unionists, Social Democratic Party members and officials, workers, farmers, young people and students, professors, publicists, artists and clergymen are turning in word and deed against the policy of the government of the grand coalition.

In all industrial centres the big industrial unions of the Federal Republic—such as those of the metalworkers, chemical workers, paper, ceramics, printing, wood and mine workers have for months been conducting a hard struggle against

the rapacious campaign of the monopolists against the living standard and the rights of the workers. The workers and office employees are increasingly unwilling to put up with the social burdens arising from the revanchist policy. The marked growth of social struggles by the West German workers and their trade unions, and the demands for trade union co-determination show the extent to which social conflicts between workers and monopolies have deepened and are growing under the government of the grand coalition. Many workers, who are themselves feeling the effects of the armament policy are becoming increasingly aware that a change could only be brought about by means of an uncompromising trade union and political struggle against the omnipotence of monopoly capitalism in the state and economy.

The opponents of the emergency legislation are intensifying their actions. The West German Trade Union Federation (DGB), on behalf of millions of workers and office employees, has repeatedly stressed its basic decisions to reject all emergency legislation. Growing numbers of intellectuals, students, clergymen, women, peasants and middle-class circles have joined the trade unionists in the defence of their legitimate democratic rights. In many towns and enterprises of the Federal Republic centres of action have formed in the local and factory groups called "Notstand der Demokratie" (emergency of democracy), which are rallying democratic forces for joint actions.

There is a growing activity against the US aggression in Vietnam and against the unscrupulous support of those crimes by the Kiesinger/Strauss government and its social democratic ministers. The example of Vietnam is showing trade unionists, young people, students, intellectuals, women and Christian circles, to what inhuman excesses the escalation of expansionist policies may lead. In all parts of the Federal Republic demonstrations, meetings and leaflet actions are taking place, which emphasize the desire of large parts of the West German population to see an end of the aggression.

Protest against the military dictatorship in Greece—regarded by the federal government as a model in case of an emergency—is becoming ever more audible.

The struggle against the Springer press monopoly, which, together with the West German machinery of state is suppressing the freedom of opinion and information of federal German citizens and misusing economic power for the propagation of dangerous political aims, demonstrates the growing opposition on the part of

numerous West German citizens to the manipulation of public opinion by the government and the monopolies.

The hopes of Social Democratic Party members and leaders linked with the inclusion of SPD ministers in the CDU/CSU government are crumbling away.

There is a growing discontentment among broad circles in view of the anti-working class policy of the government, supported by the social democratic ministers. Many social democrats and trade unionists are recognizing that the SPD has become the blood-donor to the CDU, and that it has thereby suffered great injury.

The growing protest against and opposition to the government has called forth a great effort from the Bonn government and the CDU, CSU and SPD leaders, who have tried in recent weeks to calm down this movement. The debate in the Bundestag on the situation in the Ruhr basin was intended to remove the accumulated explosive material. Academic hearings were to silence the opponents of the emergency legislation and deter them from action. And the SPD ministers applied undemocratic means in Bad Godesberg in the effort to silence critics in their own ranks.

Calming words and empty promises, however, are no substitute for a new policy. The interests and the will of the people must finally become the principles of action for a new, anti-imperialist, democratic and social policy. The gathering together and united action of all democratic forces, of all decent, peace-loving citizens of the Federal Republic for a democratic alternative program is the commandment of the hour. Slogans have come forth from the struggle for peace, democracy and social security, slogans which rally all democratic forces in a joint effort to bring about the necessary turning point in West German government policy:

- for democratic progress—against emergency policies
- for social security—against social curtailment and monopoly dictatorship
- for disarmament—against the militarization of life and against neo-nazism
- for peace and European security by way of mutual recognition of the two German states.

All new, realistic West German policies will be measured today and in the future by their attitude towards the German Democratic Republic, by its recognition with all its consequences in international law, by the recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe. This central question of European security is the criterion of

a genuine policy of relaxation, also in the West German Federal Republic.

The number of West German citizens who recognize the sole representation pretension to be the basic obstacle in the way of a peaceful foreign policy and of a democratic and social policy at home, is growing. Significant opinion polls in the Federal Republic have shown that two-thirds of those questioned were in favour of negotiations at top level between the two German states. Protagonists of recognition were found among all sections of the population which belong to the most varied trends of political opinion. The formation of that group of supporters of recognition, which is making the Kiesinger government so nervous and which it is therefore making every effort to discredit, is shaking the foundations of West German expansionist policy.

In fact, the revanchist sole representation pretension constitutes one of the most essential causes of all present political, economic and social conflicts in the Federal Republic, and vice versa, the recognition of the GDR is the main key to their solution. The recognition of the GDR corresponds to the vital interests of all West German citizens who want to see social security and democratic freedoms guaranteed for themselves and their country.

The abandonment of the sole representation pretension would reduce tension between the German states, and provide effective guarantees to prevent an armed conflict in Europe. Such guarantees are particularly important in Europe, since the main line of confrontation between the two great world systems runs between the two German states. The world's two most powerful military alliances confront each other along the demarcation line between the two German states with the largest concentration of troops, conventional and modern means of warfare and mass destruction.

That is why the question concerning relations between the states of Europe, above all concerning relations between the two German states, is of outstanding importance for world peace. The recognition of the GDR is in conformity with the attempts of various political forces in Europe for the creation of an all-European security system which will ensure the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The GDR government has repeatedly proclaimed its readiness to cooperate in this connection.

During the past twelve months the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly advanced proposals for relaxation and the normalization

of relations between the two German states. These initiatives were reflected above all in the New Year's speech in 1967 of GDR Council of State Chairman Walter Ulbricht, in the proposals advanced by the Seventh Congress of the Socialist Unity of Germany, on the peaceful coexistence of the two German states, and in the letters by the GDR Prime Minister to West German Federal Chancellor Kiesinger, with the enclosure of the concrete draft of an agreement on the establishment and maintenance of normal relations between the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic.

This draft set forth the graduated program of the people for peace and understanding as an alternative to the revanchist and expansionist graduated program of monopoly capitalism. This draft envisaged:

- The German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic should take up normal relations with each other. Such direct contacts as are customary between states should be established.
- The governments of the two German states should conclude an agreement on the renunciation of the use of force.
- The governments of the two German states should obligate themselves to base their mutual relations on the following principles. respect for each other's sovereignty, equal rights and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, respect for the territorial integrity of the European states, recognition of the existing frontiers in Europe, including the Oder-Neisse line and the frontier between the two German states, recognition of West Berlin as an independent political unit, recognition of the nullity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning.
- The government of the two German states should obligate themselves to conclude agreements on contributions to the guarantee of European security and to disarmament, in particular on the renunciation of access to nuclear weapons in any form, and their storage.
- Necessary agreements on economic questions, trade, postal and telecommunications, transports and in other fields should be concluded on the basis of the principle of mutual advantage and with the aim of providing the conditions of ordered peaceful coexistence.

- The governments of the two German states declare their readiness to negotiate with the aim of arriving at a peaceful solution of the national question following the normalization of mutual relations, the implementation of disarmament agreed upon and after the conclusion of an agreement on European security, with the prerequisite that militarism, neo-nazism and the power of the monopolies have been overcome.

The proposals of the GDR Council of Ministers are on the table in Bonn now as before. The Kiesinger/Strauss government and its SPD ministers rejected them. Quite obviously the reasonable and democratic forces in the Federal Republic will have to act jointly, so that their demands for the establishment of normal, equal and contractual relations between the two German states are met.

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An das
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Gemäß o.a. Verfügung ist der Rechtsanwalt Dr. Carl Krautwig
mit Wirkung vom 1. Dezember 1940 zum Kriegesgerichtsrat ernannt
worden.

Zur Festsetzung des Besoldungsdienstalters für den Krieges-
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Personalakte gebeten.

17. FEB 1941

Münster (Westfalen), den
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Sprengel 2 4261

12. Februar 1941.

I. A.

67

Doc. 5

der Präsident
des
deutschen Oberkirchenrats
1.0.11.219/39.

Berlin-Charlottenburg 2. den 12. Februar 1939.

Reichsminister des Innern
Eingang: 14 JAN. 1939

Unter Bezugnahme auf Artikel 7 des Vertrages der Evan-
gelischen Landeskirchen mit dem Land Preußen vom 11. Mai
1931 - Pr. Ges. S. S. 107 - teile ich Ihnen, Herr Reichsminister,
ergebnis mit, daß ich beabsichtige, den Oberkonsistorialrat
Dr. Heinz G e f a e l l e r, s. Zt. Wohnhaft in Berlin -
Hilmsdorf, Ernslebener Weg 4, zum Konsistorialpräsidenten
in Königsberg/Pr. zu ernennen, und zwar beabsichtige ich,
ihn möglichst bald kommissarisch mit der Verwaltung dieser
Stelle zu beauftragen und ihn bei Beendigung nach einiger
Zeit endgültig zu ernennen.

Oberkonsistorialrat Dr. Gefaeller ist am 16. August

Oberkonsistorialrat Dr. Gefaeller scheint mir für den
Posten des Konsistorialpräsidenten deshalb besonders geeignet
weil er als geborener Ostpreuße mit der Provinz Ostpreußen
auch durch sein Studium an der Universität Königsberg und
durch seine praktische Verwaltungstätigkeit beim Evangelischen
Konsistorium in Königsberg besonders eng vertraut ist. In
Jahre 1938 habe ich ihn auch vorübergehend mit der Wahrneh-
mung der Geschäfte des seitlichen Oberkonsistorialrats beim
Konsistorium in Königsberg beauftragt. Auch bei diesen Auf-
hat er bewiesen, daß er die kirchlichen Verhältnisse der Pro-
vinz genau kennt.

Zum Schluß darf ich darauf hinweisen, daß sich der Ge-
leiter und Oberpräsident der Provinz Ostpreußen, die sich
der Vorsitzende der Finanzabteilung beim Evangelischen Kon-
sistorium in Königsberg, Regierungspräsident Angermann,
in Auftrage des Gauleiters mitgeteilt hat, mit der Ernennung
des Oberkonsistorialrats Dr. Gefaeller zum Konsistorialprä-
sidenten ausdrücklich einverstanden erklärt.

In seinen dienstlichen Verhalten hat Oberkonsistorial-
rat Dr. Gefaeller sich als staatspolitisch zuverlässig erwiesen.
Bedenken dagegen, daß er jederzeit rückhaltlos für den na-
tionalsozialistischen Staat eintreten wird, liegen hier ni-
der. Er gehört der NSD, dem RDB und dem Altherrenbund der
Deutschen Studenten (NS-Studentenkarphilfe) an.

Doc. 6

Der Reichsminister des Innern

III 6 - 3614 III/44

Präsidentium
des Reichs
Eing. 1.10.1944

Vorschlag zur Ernennung

RP 5762/44

Regierungsrats Horst-Kemper Schottenberg Oberregierungsrat

in der Reichsbefoldungsgruppe A2b

Die Partei-Kanzlei hat der Ernennung
zugestimmt.

Beilage: 1 mitgezeichnete Urkunde

Berlin, den 30. Juni 1944

Herrn Staatsminister und Chef der Präsidialkanzlei

Berlin 23 8
Poststraße 4

In Vertretung
H. G. G. G.

Im Namen des Deutschen Volkes
ernannt ist
der obgenannte Beamte
Die Ernennungsurkunde ist unter dem heutigen
Tage mit meiner handschriftlichen Unterschrift auszu-
fertigen.
Führer-Hauptquartier, den 14. Juli 1944
Der Führer und Reichskanzler
Adolf Hitler

Präsidialkanzlei Berlin, den 14. Juli 1944

- Die unter obengedachter Orts- und Datum-
angabe mit der faktualisierten Unterschrift
des Führers und Reichskanzlers auszufertigen
Urkunde geb. mit Aufzeichnung der
auszufertigenden Befehle zurh.
- An den Herrn.

Gm. Dr. Meisner

Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes	Bezeichnung des Gegenstandes
a) Untf. d. Res.	e) Ja	Keinen	a) Nein	b) Keine	Das Rund- schreiben des GRY für die Reichs- verv. vom 20.5.1940 ist beschüt.	
b) Seit 21.10.1942 im Wehrdienst.	b) 1.12.31		b) Nein	b) Keine		
	c) 813628					
	d) 2. Zt. kein					
	e) -					
Front- kämpfer						

Doc. 7

Doc. 8

Geheime Reichssache

Lieber Melchior!

Der in Istanbul ansässige Chefvertreter des britischen Intelligent Service für den Nahen Osten, Mister Whitehall, hat einen recht interessanten Fragebogen über arabische Fragen ausgearbeitet, den er unter anderem auch einem mit uns in Verbindung stehenden bledglio-Italiener mit der Bitte um baldige Ausfüllung ausgehändigt hat. Sie sehen aus dem Fragebogen, wie gut die Engländer über manche Interna unterrichtet sind und wie gross ihr Wissensschatz ist, darüber noch mehr zu wissen.

Es ist beabsichtigt, unseren Gewährmann instand zu setzen, den Fragebogen zu beantworten. Falls man in Berlin bestimmte Mitteilungen hat, die über diesen Fragebogen an die andere Seite herangebracht werden sollen, wäre ich für baldigste Beantwortung dankbar.

Die Abwehr ist über die Angelegenheit im Bilde und bearbeitet sie federführend.

Mit besten Grüßen und mit R. Hitler!

S. Ihr

[Signature]

Leichter Dr. Melchior
Berlin
rätiges Amt

Doc. 9

(Seite 6 des Originals Forts.)

Der Chef d. Genst. hatte den Auftrag erhalten, als Militärbevollmächtigter nach Kopenhagen vorauszufragen, nachdem Bevollmächtigten das Reichs (Gesandte v. Renthoe - Fink) fuer die am 9.4. Morg. vorgesehene Ueberreichung der Forderungen des Reiches die notwendigen Unterlagen und Informationen ueber die Durchfuehrung der Besetzung zu geben und ihn in der Durchfuehrung seiner Aufgabe nachhaltig zu unterstützen.

Nach.
Am 6.4. fand deshalb beim Staatssekretär des Ausw. Amtes v. Waisenecker eine Besprechung statt, an der Staatssekretär Dr. Gauss (Ausw. Amt), General Himmer,

(Seite 7 des Originals)

Oberstlt. i. J. Pohlmann (in Gruppe XXI), Oberstlt. i. J. Boehme (OKW, Abt. I), Leg. Sekr. Dr. Schlichter sowie zwei weitere Legationssekretäre teilnahmen.

Am 7.4. fuhr General Himmer als "Oberregierungsrat" nach Kopenhagen. Seine Uniformsachen gingen als Kuriergepack mit dem Leg. Sekr. Dr. Schlichter, der den Auftrag hatte, dem Gesandten v. Renthoe - Fink am 8.4. 20⁰⁰ einen streng geheimen, versiegelten Brief zu übergeben.

Der 8.4. stand fuer dringende militärische Erkundungen zur Verfügung, die General Himmer mit Oberst Petersen (Luftattaché) durchfuhrte.

- 8 -

230

Doc. 10

Ankara, den 15. Januar 1936

zu 6415/14.15/16.
H. Junker

167

1) Auswärtiges Amt

Berlin

Dem Auswärtigen Amt beehre ich mich anzuzeigen, dass ich mit Datum vom 1. September 1935 als Mitglied in die NSDAP aufgenommen worden bin.

Ferner beehre ich mich nachzutragen, dass ich am 21. Juni 1935 vom Landesgruppenleiter zum Leiter der Pressestelle der Landesgruppe China der Auslandsorganisation der NSDAP ernannt worden bin.

Ez. Junker

Legationssekretär

M. H. 28

Mit Beziehung auf den Erlass vom 15. Juli 1935 - 120-22 11/7

Gesenen.

Ankara, den 15. Januar 1936.

Ez. Trautmann

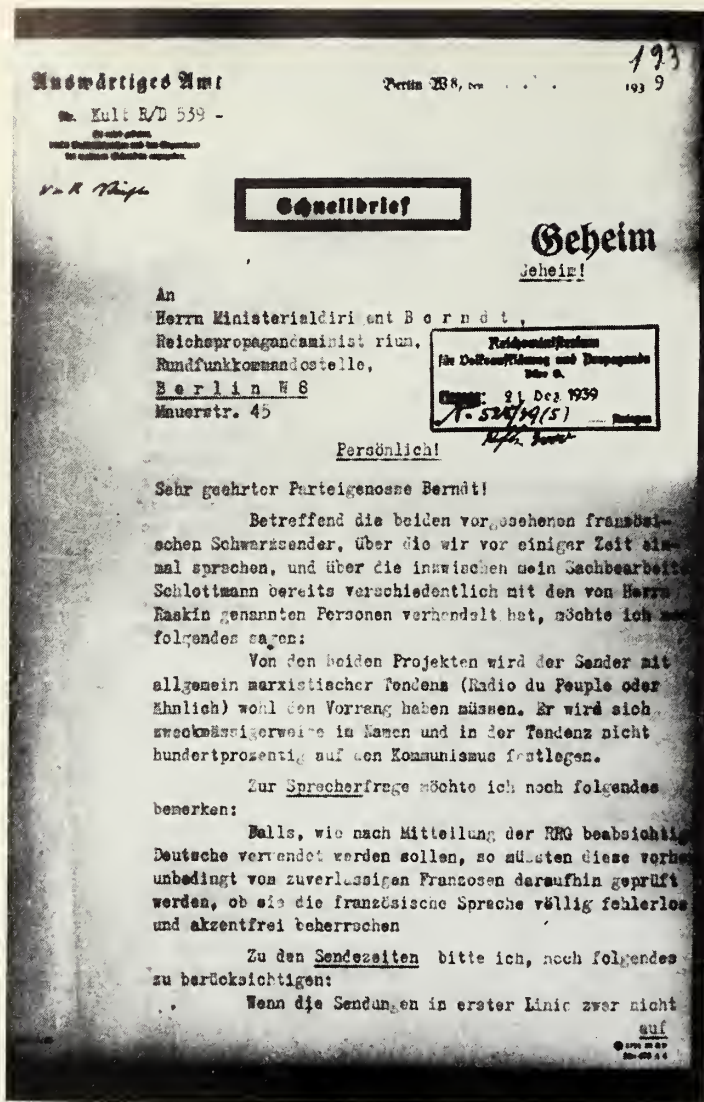
H. Junker
haben Sie dann
soviel Zeit, um neben
Ihren anderen
Tätigkeiten das Amt
zu versehen?

[Signature]

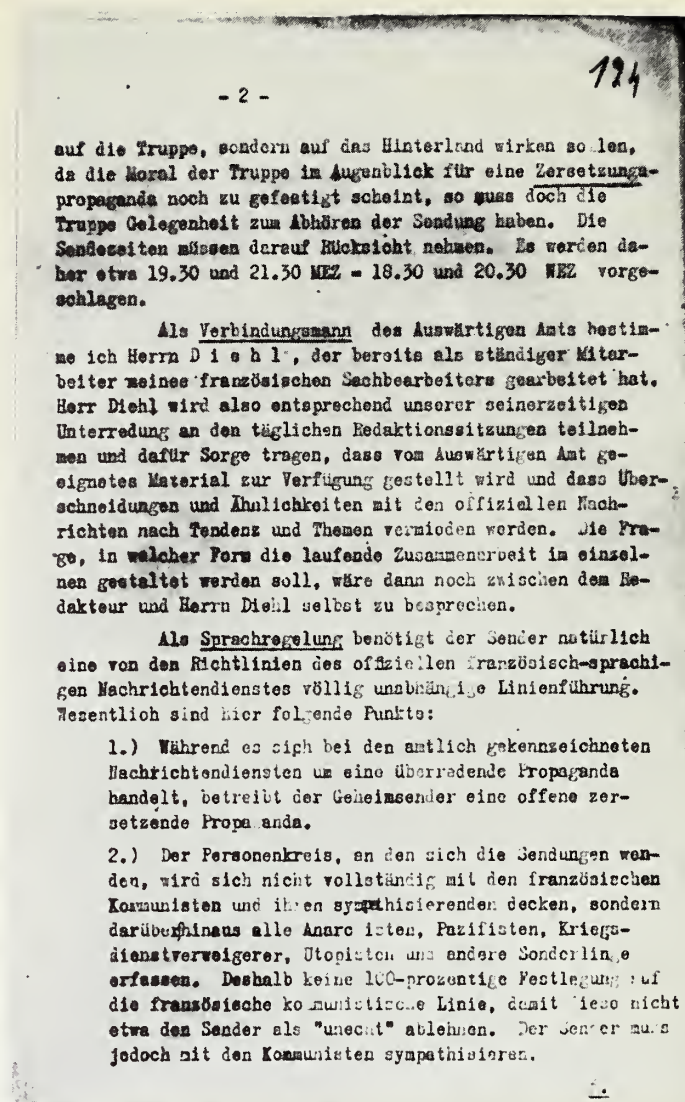
[Signature]

[Signature]
H. Junker

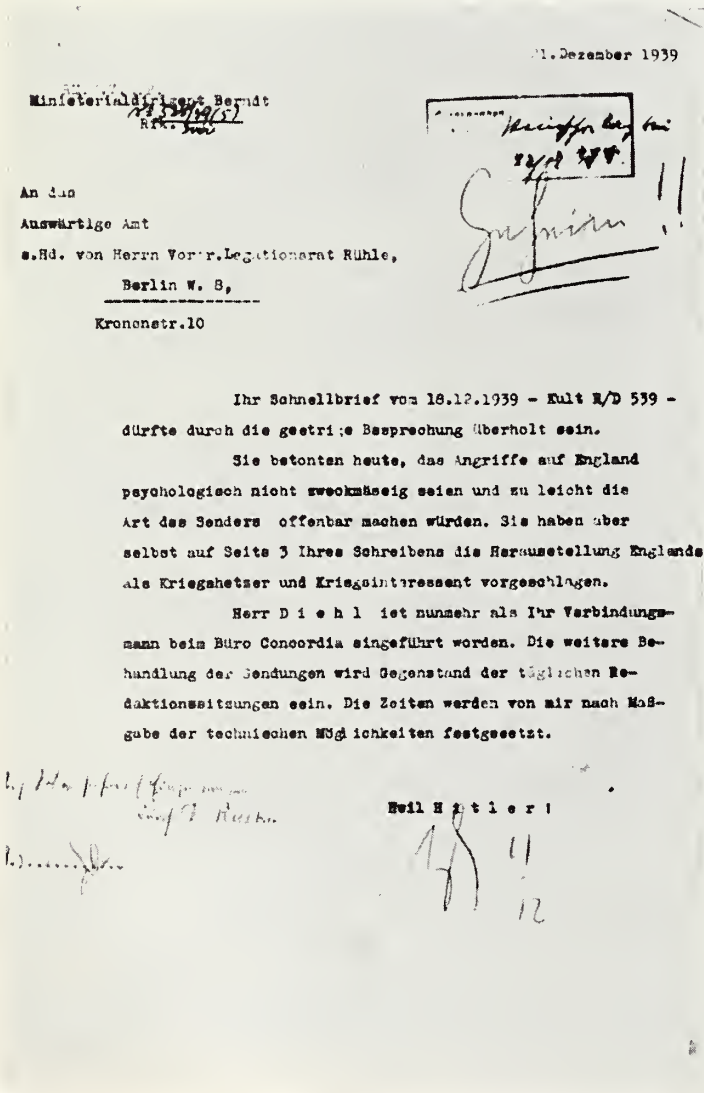
Doc. 11



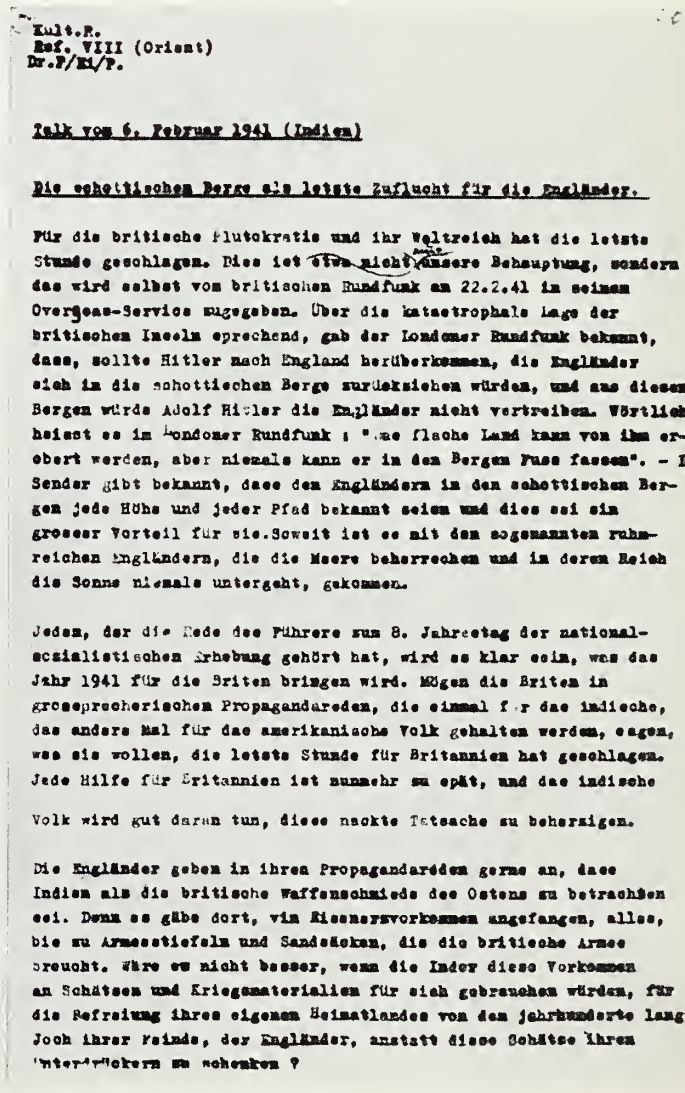
Doc. 12



Doc. 13



Doc. 14



Doc. 15

L.R. Dr. Schirmer.

Berlin, den 1. 12. 41

L.R. Büttner, Abt. D. rief am 1. 12. an und machte davon Mitteilung, dass am Montag, den 10. Reichsorganisationsleiter Dr. Ley und Gauleiter Richter die "Blau Division" aufsuchen würden. Dr. Ley wird 11.15 Uhr ankommen. Es soll eine Rundfunkübertragung von dem Besuch gemacht werden. Nähere Einzelheiten sind vom Funk mit Gauleiter Jaber, Bayreuth abzusprechen.

Hiermit
Herrn Kissinger
zur sofortigen Veranlassung vorgelegt.

Schirmer.

Es hat Herrn Kissinger von Dr. Ley kommen. Er hat Herrn Kissinger von Dr. Ley kommen. Er hat Herrn Kissinger von Dr. Ley kommen.

12.12.41
1. 12. 41

Doc. 16

L. R. Dr. Schirmer

Berlin, den 4.4.41

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Aufzeichnung

Am 3.4. wurde Herr Shirer von CBS von Geh. Rat Nühls vorgeladen und in Gegenwart von L.R. Schirmer, Herrn von Lillienfeld und Herrn Dr. Fimmler darauf hingewiesen, dass die von ihm in Zusammenhang mit der deutschen Veröffentlichung der Polendokumente eingeschlagene Berichterstattung keinesfalls als objektiv anzusehen ist und zu den schwersten Bedenken Anlass gegeben habe. Ihn selbst sei die notwendig gewordene Zensurmaßnahme bekannt. Es müsse weiterhin festgestellt werden, dass es ebenfalls Verwunderung hervorgerufen habe, dass Herr Shirer die Zensurhandhabung aus Anlass genommen habe, ein Beschwerde-telegramm an seine Gesellschaft zu senden, in welchem er eine grundsätzliche Verschärfung der Zensur ankündigt. Dem entgegen sei festzustellen, dass nicht die Zensur sich verschärft habe, sondern dass die Objektivität seiner Berichterstattung nachgelassen habe.

Herr Shirer nahm die Ausführungen zur Kenntnis und stellte dem gegenüber fest, dass er sich keinesfalls bewusst sei, unobjektiv berichtet zu haben. An Hand des Manuskriptes versuchte er, den Nachweis hierzu zu erbringen, ohne jedoch überzeugende Argumente hervorbringen zu können.

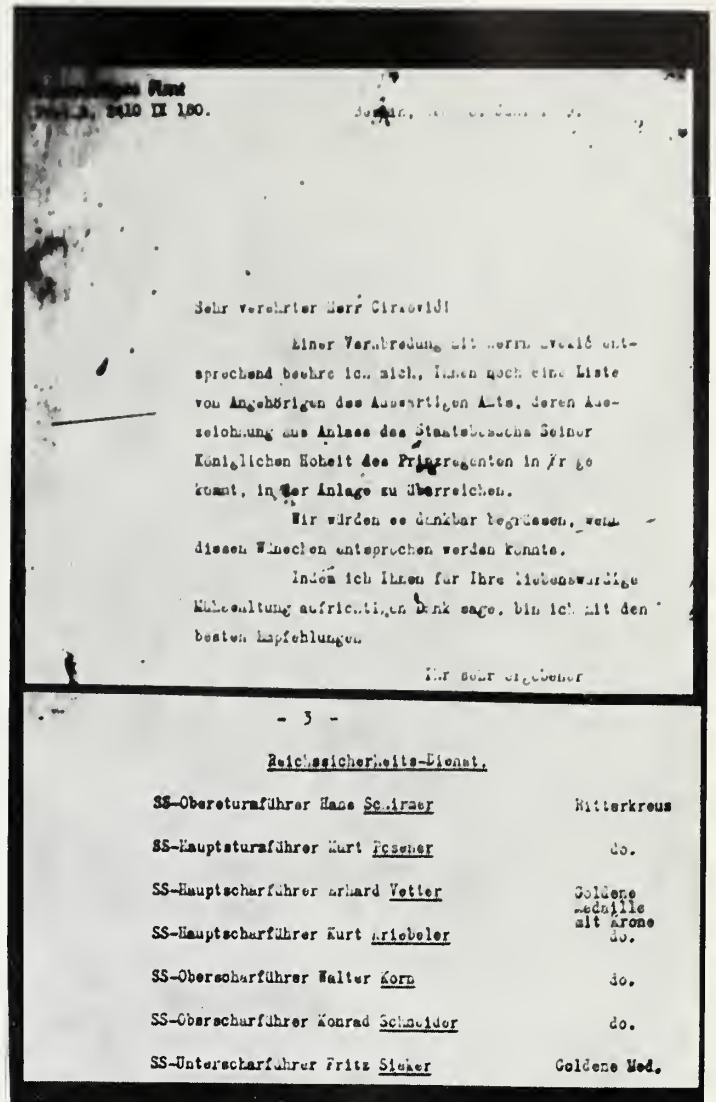
In Verlauf der Unterredung brachte Herr Shirer den allgemeinen Gesichtspunkt zur Sprache, dass die Vertreter der Rundfunkgesellschaften gegenüber den Pressevertretern benachteiligt werden. So wären aus Beispiel bei Sonderanlässen die Rundfunkberichterstattung von Sonderausstellungen für Auslandskorrespondenten zu vermindern, wie z.B. in Falle Syt.

Herrn Shirer wurde mitgeteilt, dass durch Kult.R. die Interessen des Rundfunks in ausreichendem Masse vertreten werden.

Hiermit
Herrn W.R. Nühls
vorgelegt.

Kopie 1
Herr von Lillienfeld
Herr Dr. Fimmler

Doc. 18



Doc. 17

Kult. R.
L.R. Dr. Schirmer.

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Aufzeichnung.

Wie der Europa-Vertreter der NBC, Herr Jordan, fernmündlich aus Basel mitteilte, ist beabsichtigt, den Vertreter Kerker nach New York zurückzusetzen und an seine Stelle den z. Zt. in Rom tätigen Rundfunksprecher Charles Lanus nach Berlin zu berufen. Die Ermittlungen über Lanus in Washington und Rom haben ergeben, dass nichts Nachteiliges über ihn bekannt ist. Rom kennzeichnet ihn sogar als ernsthaften und nicht voreingenommenen Journalisten, der vor allem kein Sensationsmischer sei im Gegensatz zu seinem römischen Kollegen von der CBS. Die Botschaft Rom begrüßt die Veretzung von Lanus nach Berlin.

Hiermit
Herrn Konsul S a k o w s k i
zugeleitet mit der Bitte, Herrn Dr. Lorenz beim Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD zu benachrichtigen, dass die Einreisegenehmigung von Lanus nach Berlin befürwortet wird.

Berlin, den 12. 12. 1940.

12.12.40

Kopie
H. v. Lillienfeld
Dr. Fimmler 13/4
Dr. Gallett P IX
1054 13/12 40

Doc. 19

Bundesgesetzblatt

837

Teil I

Z 1997 A

1967

Ausgegeben zu Bonn am 5. August 1967

Nr. 47

Gesetz zur Ergänzung des Gesetzes zur Änderung von Vorschriften des Fideikommiß- und Stiftungsrechts

Vom 3. August 1967

Der Bundestag hat das folgende Gesetz beschlossen:

Artikel 1

In das Gesetz zur Änderung von Vorschriften des Fideikommiß- und Stiftungsrechts vom 28. Dezember 1950 (Bundesgesetzbl. S. 820) wird nach § 2 folgender § 2a eingefügt:

„§ 2a

Hat eine nach deutschen Rechtsvorschriften gebildete Stiftung des bürgerlichen Rechts am 8. Mai 1945 ihren Sitz außerhalb des Geltungsgebietes dieses Gesetzes gehabt und hat sie im Geltungsgebiet dieses Gesetzes Vermögensgegenstände, so kann die sachlich zuständige oberste Landesbehörde des Landes, in dem sich Vermögensgegenstände befinden, die Aufsichtsbefugnisse ausüben. Sie kann hierbei alle Maßnahmen treffen, die sie für notwendig hält, um die Stiftung aufrechtzuerhalten oder fortzusetzen. Insbesondere kann sie den Sitz der Stif-

tung verlegen, ohne an Bestimmungen der Satzung gebunden zu sein. Die oberste Landesbehörde kann die Ausübung der Befugnisse auf eine andere Behörde übertragen.“

Artikel 2

Hat eine Behörde vor dem Inkrafttreten dieses Gesetzes Maßnahmen getroffen, für die sie auf Grund des § 2a des Gesetzes zur Änderung von Vorschriften des Fideikommiß- und Stiftungsrechts zuständig ist, so sind diese wirksam.

Artikel 3

Dieses Gesetz gilt nach Maßgabe des § 13 Abs. 1 des Dritten Überleitungsgesetzes vom 4. Januar 1952 (Bundesgesetzbl. I S. 1) auch im Land Berlin.

Artikel 4

Dieses Gesetz tritt am Tage nach der Verkündung in Kraft.

Die verfassungsmäßigen Rechte des Bundesrates sind gewahrt.

Das vorstehende Gesetz wird hiermit verkündet.

Bonn, den 3. August 1967

Für den Bundespräsidenten
Der Präsident des Bundesrates
Dr. Lemke

Der Stellvertreter des Bundeskanzlers
Brandt

Der Bundesminister der Justiz
Dr. Heinemann

II. DEUTSCHE AKTIENGESSELLSCHAFTEN

in der Ostzone und Berlin-Ost

HANDBUCH DER DEUTSCHEN AKTIENGESSELLSCHAFTEN 1966/67

67. AUFLAGE
DAS SPEZIAL-ARCHIV DER DEUTSCHEN WIRTSCHAFT
Verlag Hoppenstedt & Co. Darmstadt
BERLIN ESSEN HAARLEM WIEN

Aktien-Bauverein "P..."
Berlin W 8, Unte...

Admira...
Berlin

Aktien-B...
Leipzig

Aktien-B...
Dresden

Liquidator

Aktien-Bie...
n Meissen
Meissen (Sa.), Jüdenbergstr. 2

Aktien-Bierbrauerei Mittweida
Mittweida (Sachsen), Bahnhofstr. 15

Aktien-Bierbrauerei zu Reisewitz
Dresden, Reisewitzer Str. 82

Aktien-Bierbrauerei Wittenberg AG
Lutherstadt Wittenberg, Brauereiweg 5-6

Aktien-Brauerei Cöthen
Cöthen (Anhalt), Stiftstr. 7

Aktienbrauerei Greussen AG
Greussen (Thür.), Herrenstr. 18

Aktienbrauerei zu Hildburghausen
Hildburghausen (Thür.)

Aktien-Brauerei Löbau
Löbau (Sa.), Brücknerring 4

Aktien-Brauerei Neustadt-Magdeburg
Magdeburg-N, Lübecker Str. 127-128

Aktien-Brauverein zu Plauen
Plauen (Vogtl.)

Aktien-Feilen-Fabrik Sangerhausen in Abw.
Sangerhausen, Hüttenstraße 57
Die Firma ist erloschen (H. R. 9.1.1952)

Aktiengesellschaft für Bauten
Dresden, Waisenhausstr. 4

Aktiengesellschaft für Brauereibedarf
Dresden, Dresdener Str. 4

Aktiengesellschaft für Brennstoffverwertung
Leipzig C 1, Dittrichring 20

AG für Gardinenfabrikation vorm. T. L. Birkin
& Co
Oelsnitz (Vogtl.), Elsterstr. 1

Aktiengesellschaft für Grundstücks- und
Industriewerte
Dessau, Am Georgengarten 20

Akt.-Ges. für Grundstücksverwertung
Leipzig, Brühl 75-77

Aktiengesellschaft "Hotel Bellevue" in Dresden
Dresden A 1, Theaterplatz

AG für Kraftstoff-Anlagen
Dresden A 24, Bayerischer Platz 2

Aktiengesellschaft für Kunstdruck
Niedersedlitz (Sa.)

Aktiengesellschaft Kursachsen Portland-
Zementwerke

AG J. G. Leistner
Chemnitz, Tschalkowskistr. 24

Aktiengesellschaft Ferd. Lipfert
Annaberg (Erzgeb.)

Aktiengesellschaft für Lithoponefabrikat
Wünschendorf (Elster)

AG Portland Zement Berka a. d. Elbe
Bad Berka, Am Schloßberg A 102

AG "Restaurant Gattersburg"
Grimma (Sachsen)

AG Sächsische Werke (ASW)
Dresden A 24, Bismarckplatz 2

Nach Verzicht auf die Durchführung des beantragten
gleichsverfahrens wurde am 15. 3. 1962 über das Ver-
mögen der Gesellschaft das Anschlußkonkursverfah-
ren eröffnet. Konkursverwalter: Rechtsanwalt Alfred Sch-
Köln, Deutscher Ring 32 (H. R. 15. 3. 1962)

Aktiengesellschaft Vereinsbrauerei zu Z
Zwickau (Sachsen), Talstraße 2

Aktiengesellschaft für Wirtschaftsberatung
Revision- und Treuhandwesen
Leipzig

Aktien-Malzfabrik Landsberg
Landsberg bei Halle (Saale)

Aktien-Malzfabrik Sangerhausen
Sangerhausen, Karl-Bosse-Straße 4

Aktien-Ziegelei Langensalza Akt.-Ges.
Langensalza

Aktienzuckerfabrik Alleringersleben
Alleringersleben über Eisleben (Bez. Magdeburg)

Aktien-Zuckerfabrik Goldbeck
Goldbeck (Krs. Osterburg)

Aktien-Zuckerfabrik Marienstuhl
Egeln (Bez. Magdeburg)

Das Konkursverfahren über das Vermögen der Ges-
ellschaft wurde nach Abhaltung des Schlußtermins aufgehoben

Alaunwerk Tonindustrie-Aktiengesellschaft
Bad Freienwalde (Oder), Alaunwerk.

Allgemeine Gasaktien-Gesellschaft Dessau
AGAG
Dessau, Kavallerstr. 29/30

Allgemeine Maschinenbau-Gesellschaft A
Chemnitz 24, Chemnitz Straße 16

Gem. H. - V. vom 16. 12. 1961 wurde die Auflösung der
Gesellschaft beschlossen. Abwickler: Steuerhelfer Hugo S-
Chemnitz

Alrowa Deutsche Strickerei AG
Lichtenstein (Sa.)

Altchemnitzer Strumpffabrik AG
Chemnitz, Erfenschlager Str. 41-45

Altenburger Landkraftwerke Aktiengesellschaft
Altenburg (Thür.), L. - O. Dierichstr. 6

Altlandsberger Kleinbahn-Aktiengesellschaft
Potsdam, Alte Zauche 67

Altmärkische Eisenbahn-Aktiengesellschaft

III. DEUTSCHE AKTIENGESSELLSCHAFTEN im polnischen und sowjetischen Verwaltungsgebiet, sowie in der Tschechoslowakei

Akkumu Bielitz	"Bituma" Bergbau und Chemische Industrie AG	(Tsch)	l und -Webere Straße 71
AG Bre Breslau	Aussig (Sudeten)		
AG Elec Liegnitz	AG Breslauer Zoologische Breslau 16	(P)	
Aktienges Louis G Litzman	Persil AG	(P)	be AG
AG Ad	Admiralspalast Aktiengesellschaft Berlin NW 7 (R.S.)	(P)	r Tietzen & C 6-8
AG H	Deutsches National-Theater AG Berlin NW 7, Schumannstr. 12 (R.S.)	(P)	ullius Kinder-
AG d Zg	"Mitropa" Mitteleuropäische Schlafwagen- und Speisewagen Aktiengesellschaft Berlin NW 7, Universitätsstraße 2-3a (R.S.)	(P)	senbraun AG
AG de Zomb	A. J. G. Leistner Chemnitz, Tschakowskistr. 24	(Tsch)	& Albrecht A
AG Fer Kattow	Stahlwerk Hennigsdorf Hennigsdorf		n AG straße 33
AG für D Danzig,	Dresdner Straßenbahn Aktiengesellschaft Dresden, Altes Rathaus, Altmarkt 1		misch AG
AG für in Peterwitz	Zuckerfabrik Döbeln Döbeln/Sa., Zuckerfabrikstr. 3		er AG
AG für in Breslau,	Uhrenfabrik Aktiengesellschaft Glashütte (Sa.)		. Abw.
AG für in Stettin, Ob	M. Gothaer Waggonfabrik AG Gotha, Kindleberstraße 77	(P)	Auflösung der
AG für Tex Sitz: Falke Sitz der Ve	AC Deutsche Werkstätten Aktiengesellschaft Hellerab. Dresden		werks-Ge-
AG für Ver Litzmannst	Kön Messhaus Union AG Leipzig C 1, Richard-Wagner-Str. 11		
AG für Zel Memel Sitz der Ver Kurfürstena	K Aktien-Bierbrauerei Mittweida Mittweida (Sachsen), Bahnhofstr. 15		
AG Wilh. K Jauer (Bez.	Steph Ländlicher Spar- und Vorschussverein für Litz Bohnitzsch und Umgegend Meissen, Zscheilaer Straße 1		
AG Sturm Freiwalda	Zucke Fried. Krupp Grusonwerk AG Magdeburg-Buckau, Marienstraße 20		
AG Zuckerf Haynau (Schl	Credit Elite-Diamantwerke Aktiengesellschaft Siegmar-Schönau 1, Nevoigtstr. 6		
Alemannia V Stettin, Brei	Ostpreu Gummiwerke "Elbe" AG Piesteritz bei Wittenberg		
"Alldag" All Betrieb AG Danzig, Lang	Anschri Elektricitätswerk und Straßenbahn AG Stralsund		
Altheide AG Bad Altheide	Carl Alb Eisenhüttenwerk Thale AG Thale a. Harz		
Archimedes S Schraubenfab Breslau, Mär	Keine Sit Wurzener Kunstmühlenwerke und Biscuitfa- vorm. F. Krietsch Wurzen (Sa.)	(Tsch)	stalt AG
"Artus" Danz AG Danzig (Westp	Sudetende gesellsch Reichenbe	(Tsch)	
Aurag Ausrü Bewebe	Südostdeut Mühlen- und Nahrungs- mittelindustrie AG Schönbrunn (Sudetengau)	(P)	
	Swinemünder Dampfschiffahrts-AG Swinemünde, Rathausplatz		
			Breslau 1. Zwingerstraße 10-12

Flick and His Empire

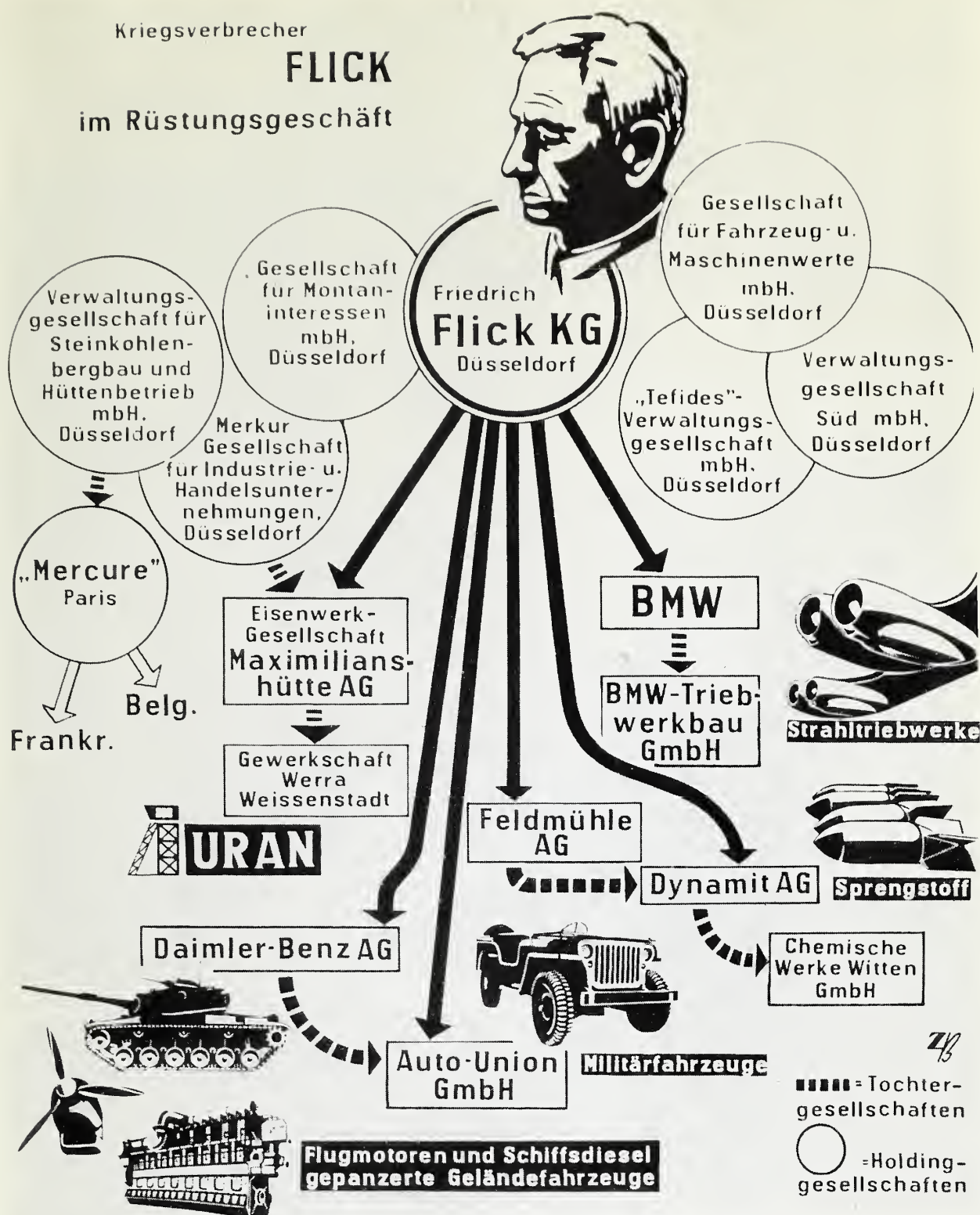


War criminal Flick in the dock
of the Nuremberg Tribunal in 1947

The Potsdam Agreement provided for depriving the war and nazi criminals of power.
Left: The Daimler-Benz-AG in Mannheim—despite the Nuremberg judgment—an enterprise of the Flick trust in the Federal Republic. Right: The steel and rolling mills in Riesa and Hennigsdorf in the GDR which formerly belonged to the Flick trust—today nationally-owned enterprises



Kriegsverbrecher
FLICK
 im Rüstungsgeschäft



The Flick empire under its old master—twenty years later

Revanchist Wave in West Germany



Ministers Strauss and Wehner at the "Germany meeting of the Association of Silesian Fellow Countrymen" in Munich on 25 June 1967

Kiesinger-Brandt and Hans-Edgar Jahn, member of the presidium of the Federation of Expelled Persons, at the "congress of the East German provincial representations" in Bonn on 29 April 1967



1967

Revanchistenwelle in Westdeutschland



3. Parteitag der
neonazist. NP

● **Münster**

Landsmannsch.
Westpreußen

● **Hannover**

● **Dortmund** Pommersche
Landsmannsch.

● **Hedemünden**

Landsmannsch. der
Deutschen aus Litauen

● **Bonn** Kongreß Ostdeutscher
Landesvertretungen

● **Bad Godesberg**
Deutsch-Baltische
Landsmannschaft

● **Heilbronn**

Dobrutscha-Deutsche
Landsmannsch.

● **Karlsruhe**
Landsmannsch.
Karpaten-
Deutsche

● **Dinkelsbühl**

Bundestreffen der
Siebenbürger Sachsen

● **Sindelfingen**

Landsmannsch.
Donau-Schwaben

● ● **München**

> Sudetendeutscher Tag <
Bund der Danziger
Deutschlandtreffen
der Schlesier

z.
b.



16 September 1967: Demonstration in Aachen

5 April 1967: Atomic war opponents, trade unionists and students demonstrating before the American embassy in Bad Godesberg



Actions against the US Aggression in Vietnam



28 November 1966: 500 Munich students protesting in front of the US consulate

7 May 1967: Protest action in Frankfurt-on-Main



At the Side of the Dictators

Strauss in Spain
with General Munoz-Grandes,
former commander
of the fascist Blue Division

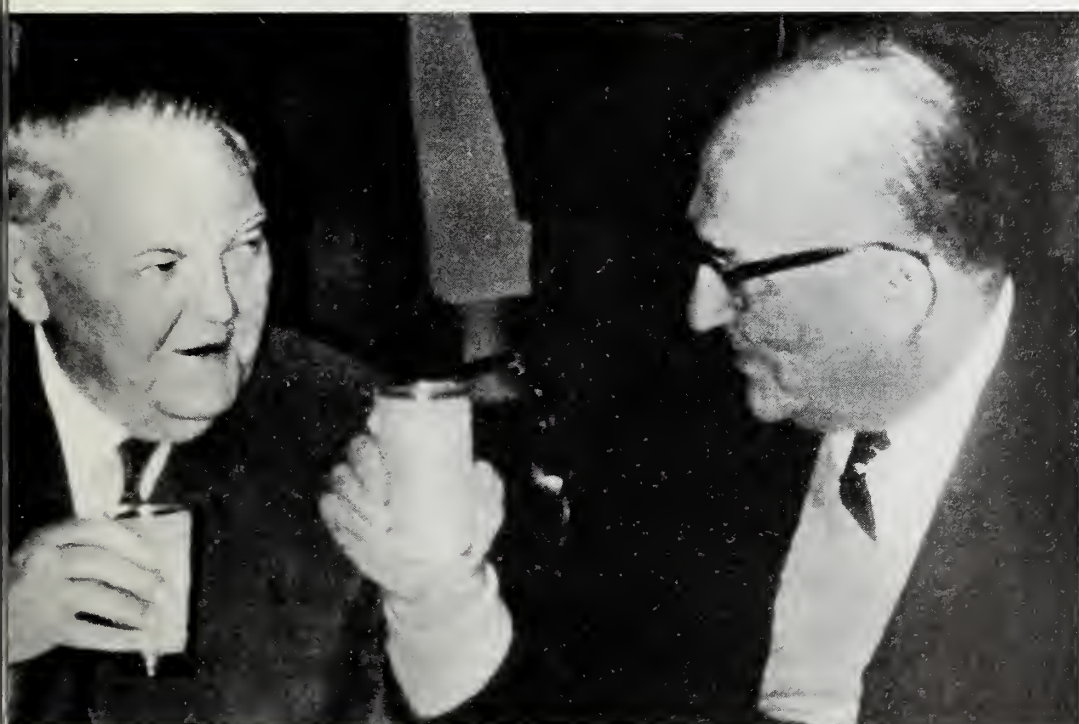




Concentration camp builder Lübke with Pak Chong Hi, chief of the South Korean regime which depends on the USA, during a visit to Seoul in March 1967



Bonn Minister Schröder with the fascist dictator of Portugal, Salazar (right)



Former Chancellor Erhard during a talk with Israeli Prime Minister Eshkol in October 1967—on behalf of the Kiesinger-Strauss government



17 May 1967 in Munich—Former Colonel-General
Student of the fascist paratroopers celebrating

the attacks of his troops in the Second World War
in the presence of paratroopers of the Bundeswehr



11 August 1967 in Bath, Maine (USA)–
The first missile destroyer of the West
German federal navy–D 185–is given
the name of the fascist Admiral Luetjens



20 August 1967 in Vornbach-on-Inn–
More than sixty associations of former
soldiers present themselves together
with an honorary detachment
of the Bundeswehr

"Cultivation of Traditions" of the West German Militarists

Concoctions of neo-fascist publishing
houses are offered without hindrance
at the 1967 Frankfurt Book Fair
as "expert reports" against
the "bolshevist mortal enemy"



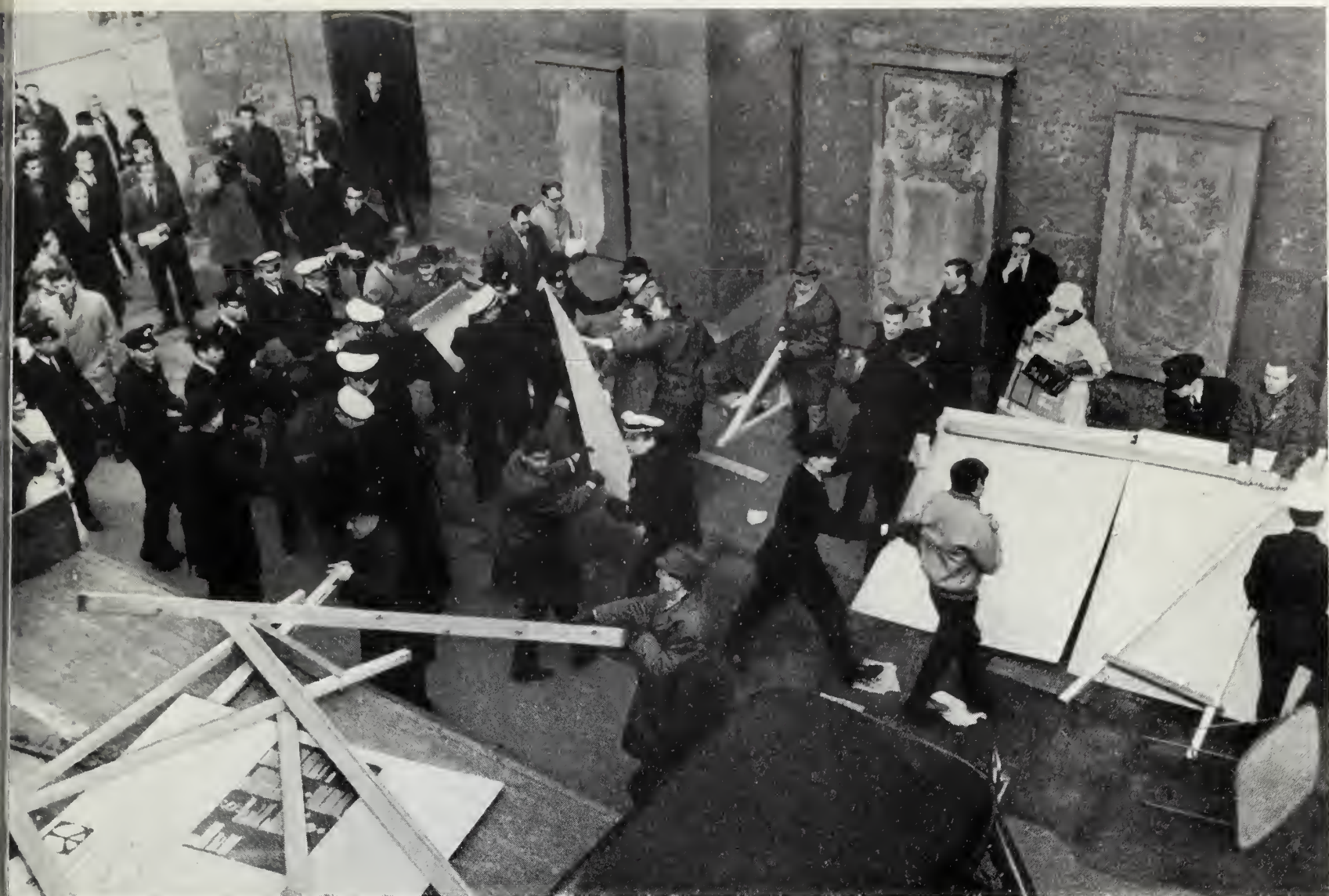
State of Emergency in Action



"Dispersing" demonstrators against
the dirty war of the USA in Vietnam
on 7 May 1967 in Frankfurt-on-Main

West Berlin policemen
battering anti-Shah demonstrators





Frankfurt police on 11 February 1967
destroying an information stand
of the campaign for disarmament



Brutal police action
against demonstrators in Hamburg

Struggle Against Emergency Dictatorship

Against emergency laws
and neo-nazism—rally of young trade
unionists in Karlsruhe on 10 April 1967



Young students protesting
against emergency practices
in West Berlin on 9 June 1967
with a funeral march in Hanover



Demonstration on 30 June 1967
in the streets of Bonn against
the planned emergency legislation



Students indignant
at the "Grand Coalition"
on 30 November 1966
before the SP barracks in Bonn





Unemployed workers demonstrating before the labour office in Essen on 25 January 1967



More than 20,000 miners at a large demonstration against the shutting down of pits and the dismantling of social benefits in Dortmund on 21 October 1967

Demonstration Against the Dismantling of Social Curtailment Benefits

On 17 April 1967 more than 3,000 miners protested in Bergkamen under black banners against the shutting down of pits



Date Due

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CENTURY A COLLECTION OF
PAMPHLETS ACCOMPANIED BY A
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World communism in the 20th
century.

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